The Making of Byzantine History

Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol

Edited by Roderick Beaton & Charlotte Roueché

Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London

THE MAKING OF BYZANTINE HISTORY

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THE CENTRE FOR HELLENIC STUDIES,
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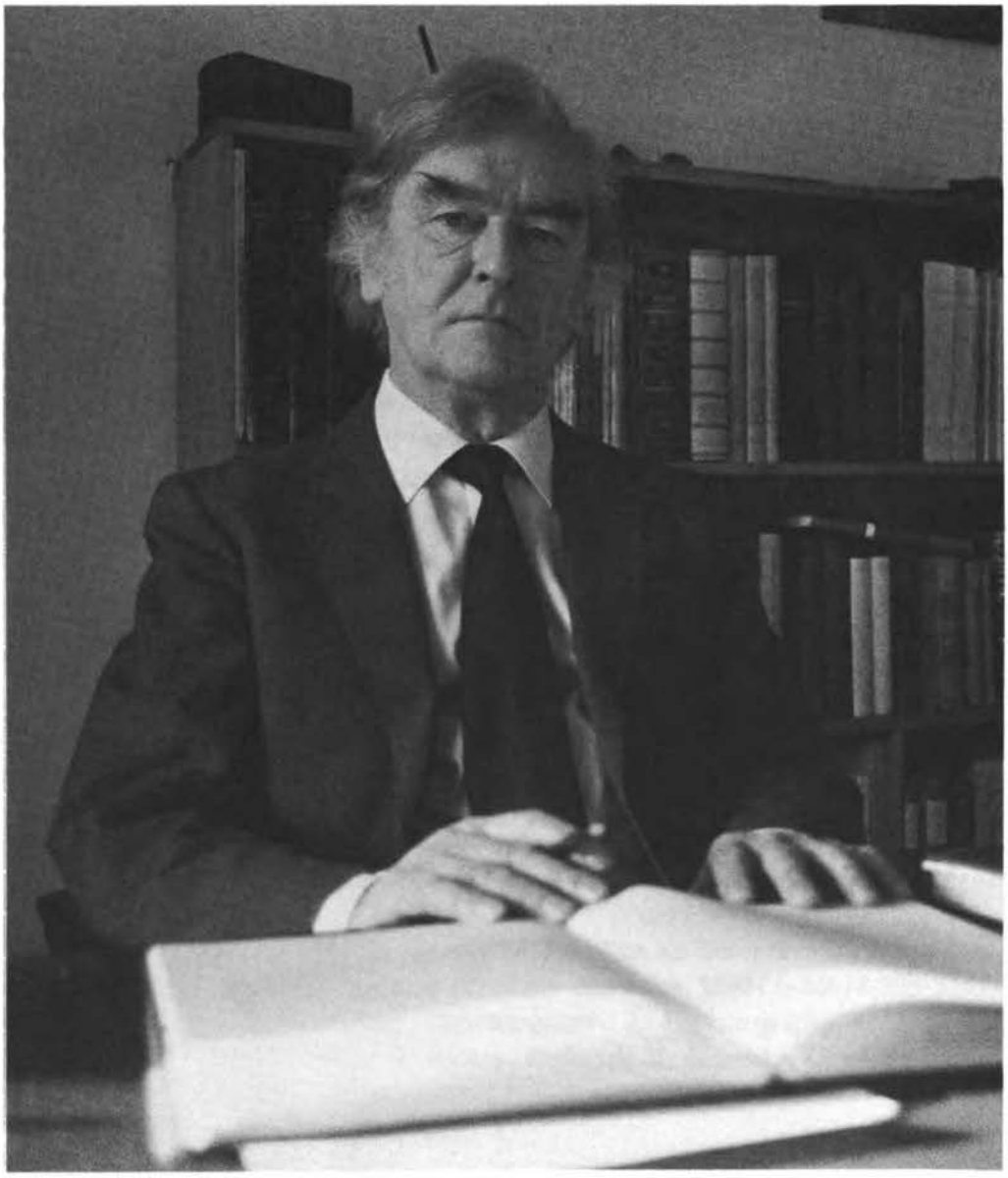
Foreword

It is appropriate that the first volume in this new series published by Variorum for the Centre for Hellenic Studies should consist of essays in honour of Donald Nicol, Koraes Professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at King's College London from 1970 to 1988. Donald Nicol's own achievements and influence on the study of Byzantine history are amply demonstrated in the papers that follow. But it was also during his tenure of the Chair that the conditions were created for the expansion and development which led to the inauguration of the Centre for Hellenic Studies in 1989 on the initiative of the then Principal, Professor Stewart Sutherland (subsequently Vice-Chancellor, University of London). Since its inception the Centre has organized a full programme of lectures, seminars and colloquia in all aspects of Greek culture and civilisation, and the launching of the present series marks the extension of this activity by means of an active publishing programme. We are pleased therefore to inaugurate the present series, which is published for the Centre for Hellenic Studies by Variorum, as the first stage in that programme, and I should like to thank John Smedley of Variorum, himself a student of Byzantium, for his enthusiasm and support in its planning and inception.

Averil Cameron
Director

Centre for Hellenic Studies
King's College London



Professor Donald M. Nicol
(Photograph reproduced by kind permission of the British Academy)

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Editors' preface

The purpose of this collection of studies is twofold. First, it is intended to honour the dedicatee, Professor Donald Nicol, who from 1970 until 1988 held the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at King's College London. Second, in 1988 Donald Nicol was retiring from a post where he had taught and encouraged many students who have gone on to become professional Byzantine historians themselves. This made his retirement an appropriate moment to gather together some of the new insights, approaches and hard historical evidence which are now being presented by this younger generation of historians. The genesis of this collection lay in a series of seminars given by some of the contributors at King's College in early 1988 (thanks to generous support from the Esmée Fairbairn Trust); from these it was already clear how valuable it would be to build around this nucleus, and most of the papers in this volume were commissioned and written in that year. The resultant volume has been five years in the making, and has begun to acquire a history of its own. The studies which follow are presented to Donald Nicol, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.

This group of papers is, therefore, a collection of tributes from individual scholars, but it also represents a bringing together of several current issues in contemporary writing about Byzantine history. All the papers are united by a common questioning of the historical record on which we depend for our knowledge of 'what happened' in Byzantium. History is 'made' in two senses: by the march of events, and by the narrating, recording and interpreting of those events. It is entirely characteristic of current concerns that this book deals with the 'making' of history in the latter sense. How did the Byzantines interpret the events and the narratives that shaped their world? By interpreting what they knew or thought they knew about their past, their present, and their future, the Byzantines, like any other people with a sense of history, strove to understand the world in which they lived and their own place in it. Moreover, modern historians have come increasingly to recognize this process not only among the societies of the past, but in ourselves. It is entirely appropriate that this group of studies should appear so soon after Donald Nicol's own study of

Constantine XI, the last emperor of Byzantium, in a book which examines the historical record, the growth of the later traditions, and the function of Constantine in representing the future.

The subject of this book is therefore the interlocking interpretations, or 'histories', of future, present, and past, and the essays have been grouped accordingly. In the first section, it is shown how the future, as revealed in prophecies or projected in prescriptions for the 'good life' within the enclosed space of a monastery, exercised a significant hold on the Byzantine imagination. Paul Magdalino demonstrates that the Byzantine concept of universal empire was predicated on a set of beliefs about the future as well as on knowledge of the past, and that these beliefs, and particularly the use made of them, seem to have played a part in the course of events throughout Byzantine history. These preoccupations are exemplified in the presentation, by Walter Hanak, of a Slavonic account of the fall of Constantinople, and its use of older, prophetic material. Finally in this section, Michael Angold analyses the 'utopian' prescriptions elaborated in the foundation charters of Byzantine monasteries. All three studies point to a typically Byzantine continuity in modes of thought and literary genres; yet, when they are examined, as here, diachronically across the whole span of Byzantine history, they reveal substantial modifications and adaptations to changing realities.

Present realities and the impact of very recent events also, not surprisingly, demanded interpretation by the Byzantines, and these interpretations too, in Byzantine society as in ours, had the potential to affect future action. We have a rich variety of testimonies (drawn, in this volume, from the last three centuries of Byzantium) to the way in which such interpretations came to be formed and functioned. The studies which make up the second section of the book are arranged in roughly chronological order. The centrepiece of this section is the analysis by Angeliki Laiou of Byzantine perceptions, in the fourteenth century, of the lands and peoples beyond their northern and eastern borders. From the twelfth century, Richard Greenfield teases out the political implications of accusations of sorcery and witchcraft reported in the sources, and shows how these may be revealing of the attitudes of the historians who recorded them, while Alexis Savvides traces the fortunes of the Turcoples, formidable fighters of mixed Christian and Muslim parentage, in both the Byzantine and Western sources for the last centuries of Byzantium. In shorter studies, Constantine Constantinides and Michael Kordoses shed new light on contemporary Byzantine attitudes to the two attempts to unify the Churches (at Lyons in 1274 and at Ferrara in 1439). Appropriately therefore, this section ends with the uncrowned last emperor of Byzantium, Constantine XI.

Finally, it was not only the Byzantines who, in telling the story of their past, interpreted that story according to the needs and within the terms of the present. The final section is devoted to the perception of the historical past, and highlights the contemporary factors which, in modern no less than in

medieval times, have contributed to an understanding of past history. T.S. Brown shows how the early history of the Byzantine dependency of Venice came to be told, in the later middle ages, in a way that contributed significantly to the self-image and material success of that city, while Andrew Sopko analyses the ways in which the Church Fathers were interpreted and their authority used by Byzantine theologians in their debates with the Western Church in the last centuries of the empire. The final two contributors move forward into modern times, to reveal comparable processes at work in the making of two very different modern perceptions of Byzantium. S. Fassoulakis analyses the contribution of Edward Gibbon to the notoriously anti-Byzantine views of Adamantios Koraes, the influential thinker of the first decades of the nineteenth century often hailed as the 'father of Modern Greece'. Coming closer to our own times, Charlotte Roueché rounds off the volume with a biographical study of the first British woman Byzantinist, an analysis which firmly anchors the subsequent growth of Byzantine studies in this country within the changing social, institutional and moral climate of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries in Europe and America.

The varied topics covered by the contributors range widely in both time and space, and in doing so reflect remarkably accurately the wide interests of Donald Nicol, to whom all of us who have worked to produce this volume are intellectually indebted. The extensive references to his work throughout what follows afford eloquent testimony to the fundamental contribution made by Professor Nicol to the making of Byzantine history in the late twentieth century. The bibliography which follows is the fullest that could be compiled without the knowledge of its recipient, and we are grateful to Ian Martin for taking on a task whose magnitude provides additional justification, if such were needed, for a volume of studies to honour such a prolific and eloquent historian of Byzantium as Donald Nicol.

Roderick Beaton
Charlotte Roueché

King's College London
4 February 1993

Abbreviations

AASS	Acta Sanctorum
ABME	Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
BBA	Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BSl	Byzantinoslavica
Byz	Byzantion
Byz Forsch	Byzantinische Forschungen
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DIEE	Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	Échos d'Orient
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
Hell	Ἑλληνικά
IRAIK	Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole
JHSt	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
MM	Miklosich-Müller, Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi
NE	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaioliogenzeit
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
ŽMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěščenija
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta

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Part I

History of the future: prophecy and prescription

1

The history of the future and its uses: prophecy, policy and propaganda

Paul Magdalino

The Byzantines, perhaps more than any medieval people, did not regard historical change as a Good Thing. 'Novelty' (νεωτερισμός) and 'innovation' (καινοτομία) were negative words in their vocabulary. Yet, by one of the paradoxes inherent in their culture, they recognized that change was built into God's plan for his creation, and could therefore be explained, or even welcomed, in terms of the workings of Divine Providence. They perceived four schemes through which Providence acted for the salvation of mankind, and in particular of the Chosen People of the New Covenant: (a) by chastising them for their sins and rewarding them for their faith; (b) by periodic renewal through divinely-inspired, heaven-sent saviours in the image of Christ; (c) by progressive enlightenment through the Holy Spirit; (d) by preparing the way for the Second Coming of Christ.

Of all these schemes, the most problematic was undoubtedly the fourth, the eschatological, because it could not be demonstrated from historical experience. Yet it was also, potentially, the most significant, since it logically subsumed the other three. Past and present events made full sense only in so far as they pointed to the final consummation (συντελεία) of the temporal order to which they belonged. There is no doubt that Byzantines awaited, sooner or later, the end of the world as prophesied in the Bible, and were given to speculation as to how and when this would occur. The literature in which they expressed their projections has now been studied in depth and, in most cases, put in its historical context.[1] Yet the role of eschatological thinking outside its own literary traditions has not been so systematically investigated. While it is clear how history influenced eschatology, the question whether eschatology affected the making of Byzantine history has only recently, and tentatively, been raised.[2] Our explanations of Byzantine historical phenomena therefore lack a

[1] See particularly G. Podskalsky *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (Munich, 1972); P. Alexander *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1985). Other studies by these and other authors will be referred to where relevant. For references to work published since this article was completed, see p.33–4.

[2] R. Scott, 'Malalas, The Secret History, and Justinian's Propaganda', *DOP* 39 (1985), 107–9.

dimension which the Byzantines themselves took for granted. In the hope that something can be gained from adding that dimension, I propose in this paper to survey the course of Byzantine history from a prophet's-eye point of view. In doing so, I shall be treading a path already beaten by Cyril Mango, but since I am interested in eschatology as cause, and not only as effect, I shall also be turning aside to considerations which have not, to my knowledge, been covered before.[3]

Byzantium was heir to a simple but comprehensive eschatology based on three necessary and two optional ingredients. The necessary ingredients were:

1. Old Testament prophecy, above all the prophecy in the Book of Daniel about the succession of four world kingdoms.
2. New Testament prophecy of the Gospels and Epistles, notably Christ's prophecy of his Second Coming (Matt. 24), and St Paul's reference to the 'withholding power' (ὁ κατέχων) whose removal would lead to the advent of Antichrist (2 Thess.7–8). The withholding power was readily identified with the Roman Empire, and St Paul's statement, combined with the prophecy in Daniel, was naturally taken to mean that the world would last as long as the empire, which for Byzantines meant effectively that the fate of the world was tied to the fate of Constantinople.
3. The notion that the world had a finite and calculable lifespan corresponding to the six days of creation, a day being a thousand years in God's sight.

The optional elements were the Apocalypse of St John, which the Christian East never fully accepted as a canonical work of scripture, and an apocryphal prophetic tradition, part Judaeo-Christian, part Sibylline and pagan, which foretold, among other things, the succession of Roman emperors, and was therefore useful for identifying the sequence of reigns that would lead to the Last Things.

The story begins, effectively, around the year 500. Christians had, of course, been awaiting Christ's Second Coming from the moment of his Ascension, and much had happened in the following centuries to fuel speculation. Yet from the third century, special significance had been attached, at least in the Greek East, to the five hundredth anniversary of the Incarnation, since that, according to Hippolytos of Rome, would be the year 6000 from the creation of the world.[4] Vasiliev, writing 44 years ago, felt able to state that the date made no particular impression on contemporaries.[5] Since then, however, Paul Alexander has shown that the reign of the emperor Anastasios (491–518) was a time of

[3] C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), chapter 11.

[4] On Daniel, IV.23–4, ed. G.N. Bonwetsch, H. Achelis, *Hippolytus Werke* (Leipzig, 1897), 240–8; Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 79–80, 92ff. See also A. Harnack, *Diodor von Tarsus*, *TU* 21/4 (Leipzig, 1901), 109–110; Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, VII.25, 3–5.

[5] A. Vasiliev, 'Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East', *Byz* 16 (1944), 469–70.

intense eschatological speculation,[6] while Gerhard Podskalsky has drawn attention to two conclusive passages in the commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo* by the sixth-century pagan philosopher Simplicius.[7] Simplicius criticizes a Christian opponent, who can probably be identified with the contemporary Alexandrian scholar John Philoponos, for believing that the heavens are corruptible and perishable:

> Since, according to them, these are the last days, and the end of the world is awaited as never before, surely by now something strange ought to have appeared in the heaven and its movements ... If the heavens came into existence just over six thousand years ago, as he believes, and are now in their last days, as it also pleases him to opine, how come no sign of decline and corruption has manifested itself?[8]

As the world survived on into its seventh millennium, the conviction that it could not last much longer only intensified, and was amply confirmed by signs that pointed to the fulfilment of Christ's own prophecies. He had told his disciples that, 'when the Gospel shall be preached in all the world, then shall the end come' (Matt. 24.14). During the reign of Anastasios, Ethiopia was converted to Christianity; later in the sixth century, church historians noted the progress of Christian preaching among the Huns and the Persians, whose king Khushraw I (531–79) was reputed to have died a Christian. 'And this same thing is a token of the mercies of God, who cares for everyone that is in every place. And henceforth it is the time which is placed in his own power, that the fullness of the nations may come in, as the Apostle said' (Romans 11.25; cf. Acts 1.7).[9]

Christ had also warned that 'Nation shall rise up against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be famines and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places' (Matt. 24.7). Sixth-century chroniclers record an unprecedented catalogue of such events, and it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the events were being chronicled precisely because people were watching for them. The chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, written expressly to record the wars, famines, and epidemics that befell Edessa during the generally prosperous reign of Anastasios, reflects not only the scale of the afflictions but also the interest they generated as signs.[10] They were certainly on a small scale compared with the disasters that afflicted the whole empire under Justinian (527–65). The apocalyptic significance which was attached to the famines, plagues, earthquakes and invasions of the 540s and 550s is evident in a number of texts. The

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[6] P. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek* (Washington D.C., 1967), 116–20; Mango, *Byzantium*, 203–4.

[7] G. Podskalsky, 'Marginalien zur byzantinischen Reichseschatologie', *BZ* 77 (1974), 357 n.28.

[8] *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graecum*, VII, ed. I.L. Heiberg (Berlin, 1893), 87–8; X, ed. H. Diels (Berlin; 1895), 1335.

[9] *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mytilene*, tr. P.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks (London, 1899), 327ff; Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV.28, eds J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), 176.

[10] *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. and tr. W. Wright (Cambridge, 1882), 4–5.

chronicler Malalas records that in 541, the year when the bubonic plague struck Alexandria and Antioch, a woman in Constantinople prophesied that the city was about to sink under the sea; there were public litanies, and the emperor was informed.[11] Romanos the Melodist's hymn *On the Ten Virgins* is clearly dateable to the mid-550s by its allusions: 'The last day is nigh, Now we behold those things; they are not at the door, they are the very doors. They have arrived and are present. Nothing is lacking of which Christ told, but as he foretold, all will come to pass: famines and plagues and frequent earthquakes. Nation has risen up against nation, Within all is frightful, without all is filled with strife'.[12] In 557 Constantinople was shaken by a series of violent tremors which, among other things, caused the partial collapse of Justinian's Great Church of Hagia Sophia, consecrated 20 years earlier. The historian Agathias records the public reaction in words which are worth quoting in full:[13]

> Immediately fantastic and fallacious pronouncements began to circulate, to the effect that the whole world was on the point of perishing. For certain deceivers, behaving like self-inspired oracles, prophesied whatever came into their heads and terrified all the more the populace who were already thoroughly disposed to be terrified. These men, by simulating madness and pretending to be demon-possessed, announced yet more terrible things as if they had been taught the future by their indwelling phantoms. They positively exulted in the general distress. Others, considering the movements and configurations of the stars, hinted darkly at worse disasters to come, and an all but total confusion of the world's affairs. It is usual for men of this sort to swarm in times of trouble. But it was a good thing for them that their prophecies turned out to be false. For there had to be some way for those who dreamed up these prophecies to escape the charge of impiety [which they invited in] leaving nothing but knowledge to a higher power.
>
> At the time, however, there was no-one who was not greatly shocked and afraid. Litanies and hymns of supplication were everywhere to be heard, with everyone joining in. And things which are always promised in words, but never carried out in deeds, were at that time readily performed. Suddenly all were honest in their business dealings, so that even public officials, putting aside their greed, dealt with law-suits according to the law, and other powerful men contented themselves with doing good and abstaining from shameful acts. Some, changing their life-style completely, espoused a monastic and mountain way of life, renouncing money and honours and all the other things most pleasing to men. Many gifts were brought to the churches, and by night the most powerful citizens frequented the streets and cared for those wretched and pitiful people who lay crippled on the ground, providing all that they needed in food and clothing. But all this was limited to that fixed space of time in which the terror was endemic. As soon as there was some respite and relief from danger, most people reverted to their normal ways.

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[11] John Malalas, *Chronicle (CSHB)*, 481.43.

[12] Romanos, *Hymnes*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, V, SC 283 (Paris, 1981), 272–327, esp. strophe 4.

[13] *Historiae*, V.5: ed. R. Keydell (Berlin, 1967), 169–70.

The disaster was interpreted by two groups of self-proclaimed experts: bogus lunatics who seem to correspond to contemporary and later descriptions of the type of ascetics known as *Saloi* or 'Holy Fools'; and astrologers. The prophecies circulated by the former group were clearly the most direct and frightening. We can only guess at what these prophecies were like, but they were presumably in the same vein as the written apocalypses which survive from this and later periods.[14] In other words, they probably contained an embroidered version of the standard biblical schema with sensational and topical references to Constantinople and its emperors. They may well have predicted that Constantinople would sink beneath the sea – a prediction which had already been made in 541, as we have seen, and recurs in later apocalyptic texts.[15] They would almost certainly have had something to say about the reign of Antichrist and the sufferings this would bring. That talk of Antichrist was very much in the air in Constantinople at the time is evident from two other sources. Romanos' hymn *On the Last Judgement* contains a detailed description of Antichrist based on the apocalypse of Ephraim the Syrian.[16] Procopius' *Secret History*, recently dated to 558, describes Justinian in terms which are reminiscent both of Romanos and of earlier Christian polemic which had cast the emperor Domitian in the role of the final adversary.[17]

The sixth century, then, was a time of intense and intensifying eschatological apprehension. Was there any connection between this apprehension and the great change which came over the culture and ideology of the Eastern Roman Empire in the two centuries from Justinian to Iconoclasm, giving Eastern Roman society its definitively medieval Byzantine identity? The starting point for discussing this question must be the suggestion, recently made by Roger Scott, that the whole imperial policy and imperial propaganda of Justinian was shaped by eschatological preoccupations. His point is that if disillusion with and denigration of Justinian cast the emperor in the role of Antichrist, the reverse side of the medal, represented in imperial and pro-imperial writings, must show us Justinian himself actively and consciously reforming the world in preparation for the Second Coming.[18] The idea is an attractive one, which puts all the different aspects of Justinian in a single perspective. Why then has it taken so long to surface, in what can hardly be described as a neglected field of scholarship?

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[14] See Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, passim.

[15] L. Rydén, 'The Andreas Salos Apocalypse. Greek Text; Translation; and Commentary', *DOP* 28 (1974), 209, 211, 250–1; K. Berger, *Die griechische Daniel Diegese* (Leiden, 1976), 15.

[16] *Hymnes*, ed. Grosdidier de Matons, V, 209–67, esp. strophes 7–9; Th. Wehofer, *Untersuchungen zum Lied des Romanos auf die Wiederkunft des Herrn, SB Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 154/5 (Vienna, 1907).

[17] Procopius, *Secret History*, XII.14–27; XVIII.1–4, 36–7; XXX.34; cf. Scott, 'Malalas', 108 and n. 84; idem, 'Justinian's Coinage and Easter Reforms and the Date of the Secret History', *BMGS* 11 (1987), 215–21.

[18] Scott; 'Malalas', 107–9.

One problem is that the main literary and legal sources can, with less effort of imagination, be read to yield a very different conclusion about the role of eschatological thinking in sixth-century society. The *Secret History* is so obviously an exercise in exaggerated rhetorical vilification that its Antichrist motif cannot be taken any more seriously than its scurrilous stories about Theodora's sex life.[19] Besides, Procopius does not call Justinian Antichrist in so many words, and in his panegyrical work on Justinian's *Buildings*, he makes no symmetrical allusion to any positive eschatological role that Justinian may have chosen to adopt. The emperor's own propaganda, as reflected in his legislation, alludes to the other providential schemes which we noted at the beginning, especially to that of renewal and chastisement, but it has no obvious eschatological overtones.[20] As for Agathias, the main source for sixth-century apocalyptic fever, he dismisses both the prophets of doom and the people who believe in them, and furthermore is at pains to point out that the reaction to their prophecies was ephemeral. Elsewhere he appears to leave open the question whether the plague was a sign of God's anger, or merely an indication that the world was experiencing a downward turn in an endlessly recurring cycle of prosperity and adversity.[21] In sum, the obvious inference would seem to be that eschatological thinking did not go deep, and thinking men, including Justinian, had no time for it.

We must be careful, however, not to see rational scepticism in what is more likely to have been the impartial persona of the classicizing historian, combined with the discriminating piety of a genuine believer.[22] What Agathias deplored above all was a lack of faith – the presumption of claiming to pin down events of which Christ had said to his disciples, 'But of that day knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven; but my Father only' (Matt. 24.36), and elsewhere, 'It is not for you to know the times and the seasons which the Father hath placed in his own power' (Acts 1.7). The true believer would await the ultimate and as yet hidden outcome of events, and would allow that God was free to change his mind.[23] The world could not end until it was complete, and its completion depended not only on the number of years that God had foreordained, but also on the number of souls he intended to save.[24] The Church Fathers had been

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[19] On Procopius' rhetoricity, cf. A.M. Cameron, *Procopius* (London, 1985), passim, esp. chapters 3, 13. Cf. also H.-G. Beck, *Kaiserin Theodora und Prokop. Der Historiker und sein Opfer* (Munich, 1985), 20, 106.

[20] Reward: Novel 6, proem; chastisement: Nov.77.1. Justinian's ideology of renewal, presented in the legislation as a conservative response to innovation by Nature, is discussed by M. Maas, 'Roman History and Christian Ideology in Justinianic Reform Legislation', *DOP* 40 (1986), 17–31, esp. 28–31.

[21] Agathias V.10, ed. Keydell, 176.

[22] Cf. A.M. Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), passim, esp. ch. 9.

[23] John Chrysostom, *Sur la Providence de Dieu*, ed. and tr. A.-M. Malingrey, SC 79 (Paris, 1961).

[24] Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography*; V.255, ed. W. Wolska- Conus, II, SC 159 (Paris 1970) 371; for later instances of this belief, cf. S.I. Kourouses, Αἱ ἀντιλήψεις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1346 πτῶσις τοῦ τρούλλου τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, *EEBS* 37 (1969/70), 221 n.31, below.

on the whole extremely reluctant to speculate on the timing of the Last Things. But this did not mean that the question did not concern them or later Christian intellectuals. For we must also be careful not to draw too sharp a contrast between 'high' theology and 'low' superstition. While it is true that 'eschatology does not as a rule appeal to intellectuals',[25] and Christian teachers, beginning with Christ himself, have always tended to expound concepts like the Last Judgement and the coming of the Kingdom in terms of the individual believer's inner experience, I do not think sixth-century Christianity was ready to discard the belief that these would be real historical events. To have done so would have been to concede too much to paganism. As we can see in the hymns of Romanos, who can be regarded as Justinian's official hymnographer, the established church was ready to echo popular apprehensions of doomsday, if only to call people to repentance. And as we can infer from Simplicius, John Philoponos (who was the foremost Christian intellectual of his day, and was sharply criticized by other Christians for his lack of biblical fundamentalism) shared in the general belief that the days of the world were symbolically numbered.[26] In other words, both the discreet silence of the cultural élite and the prophetic effusions of popular religion were based on the same unstated assumptions. What is more, orthodox biblical fundamentalism never in practice precluded recourse to astrology and other forms of divination, despite official condemnation of the latter. As the Agathias passage indicates, apocalyptic prophecy and astrological calculation went together well. As Byzantine culture became more fiercely biblical in the gathering darkness of the late sixth and seventh centuries, it became more, not less, susceptible to other kinds of inspirational wisdom which claimed to read the future in the stars or in the sculptured stones of Constantinople.[27]

In any case, although patristic theology left no room for home-made prophecy, it allowed ample scope for creative interpretaton of the relevant biblical texts. It is surely no accident that two of the four surviving Byzantine commentaries on the Apocalypse of St John – the only two of any originality – were composed in this period. Both the commentary by Oikoumenios (early sixth century) and that by Andreas of Caesarea (late sixth–early seventh century) attempt to rehabilitate the Book of Revelation as a canonical guide to the future, and Andreas, at least, tries systematically to relate its prophecies to the Roman Empire.[28]

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[25] D.M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979), 105.

[26] See W. Wolska-Conus, *La Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès* (Paris, 1982), chapter 5, esp. 183ff.

[27] G. Dagron, 'Quand la terre tremble ...', TM 1 (1981), 87–103; Dagron, 'Le saint, le savant, l'astrologue', *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés* (Paris, 1981), 143–55 (both repr. in idem, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient* [London, 1981]); idem; *Constantinople imaginaire* (Paris, 1984).

[28] Oikoumenios, ed. H.C. Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse* (Ann Arbor, 1928); Andreas, ed. J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, I (Munich, 1955); cf. C. Mango, 'Le temps dans les commentaires byzantins de l'Apocalypse', *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au Moyen Age (IIIe–XIIe siècles)* (Paris 1984), 431–8.

Here, however, another problem arises. There is an obvious gap between the Christian apocalyptic tradition, whether of the sensational or the erudite variety, and imperial ideology.[29] The former stressed the impermanence of the earthly order, and the perversion and destruction this would suffer before the *synteleia*. Andreas of Caesarea is hardly more optimistic about the Christian Roman Empire than earlier commentators on St John's Apocalypse had been about its pagan predecessor.[30] He more than once infers that Antichrist will come in the form of a Roman emperor (an interesting view, in the light of Procopius). Although he would clearly like to believe that Babylon the Great is the Persian capital, he has to conclude that the indications point overwhelmingly to Constantinople. He does not think the empire can last long, and he sees something in the view that the 'Scythian' hordes currently threatening the empire correspond to the unclean nations Gog and Magog. Only in his final remarks does he appear to sidestep the inevitable conclusion: 'Let us pray that we may be spared the experience of these things that have been prophesied, and may behold neither the arrival of Antichrist nor the mobilization of the aforesaid nations'.[31] This was an ideal eschatology for those elements in Byzantine society which, having renounced the world of imperial power and wealth, regarded this world as irredeemable and expendable. But it had little to offer those who identified with, and sought to idealize, the imperial power structure. Indeed, the very notion that the empire was mortal and its current ills were terminal was embarrassing to the exalted imperial image promoted by Justinian. The only eschatology which imperial ideology could accept was one which played down the significance of the events between the fall of the empire and the Second Coming, but stressed, instead, the extent to which the Kingdom of God was already being anticipated, or even realized, in the Roman Empire.

Such an eschatology did, however, exist. It existed in a particular interpretation of the Four Kingdoms prophecy in the Book of Daniel which had been hinted at by Eusebius in the fourth century, and was properly formulated towards the end of Justinian's reign by that Alexandrian writer known as Kosmas Indikopleustes. The importance of the relevant passage in Kosmas' *Christian Topography* has been brought out by Podskalsky and Sabine MacCormack. The mainstream of Christian exegesis equated the Roman Empire with the last of Daniel's Four Kingdoms, the Iron Kingdom with the feet of clay. Kosmas, however, dismisses this notion out of hand. For him, the sequence of kingdoms prophesied by Daniel ended with the Hellenistic monarchies. Daniel had nothing to say about the Roman Empire:

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[29] For the relationship between apocalypticism and the established political order, see in general B. McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York, 1979), 28ff.

[30] Ed. Schmid, 136–7, 188–9, 193, 197, 199–202. My reading of these passages differs from Mango's ('Le temps', 434–5).

[31] Ed. Schmid, 199–202.

> But he says 'God will raise up a Kingdom of Heaven which will not be corrupted unto eternity'. Speaking here about the Lord Christ, he cryptically includes the kingdom of the Romans which arose at the same time as Christ our Lord... The Empire of the Romans shares in the honours of the Kingdom of Christ Our Lord, surpassing all other kingdoms as far as is possible in this life; and remaining undefeated until the end... For I would venture to say that, although barbarian enemies may rise up against the Roman Empire for chastisement on account of our sins, yet by the strength of the preserving power (τοῦ διακρατοῦντος), the empire remains undefeated, so that Christianity may not be confined, but spread.[32]

The *Christian Topography*, as its title implies, was not primarily a work of eschatology. But it clearly has eschatological implications, for Kosmas goes on to show how the Gospel is being carried to the whole world, along with the Roman imperial coinage. Similarly, although its author was something of an outsider to both the political and the religious establishment, he says things that no imperial spokesman could have put better. It may therefore be taken as a reflection of the imperial position on the passing of the sixth millennium and the contemporary portents of Christ's Second Coming. This position is difficult to define more exactly, and was no doubt deliberately vague. It might have envisaged an earthly millennium of messianic imperial rule, or (and I think more likely) it might have expected that the Second Coming was shortly to occur in Constantinople. But either way, it saw the Kingdom of Heaven as being both imminent and immanent in the Christian Empire.

This hypothesis is supported by two considerations. First, there is an indication that sixth-century emperors did not dread, but actually looked forward to, the consummation of the world. The emperor Anastasios was reported to have been visited in a dream by an angel who informed him that because of his sins, he was losing 14 years. As Mango has pointed out, since Anastasios was probably in his 80s at the time, the prophecy can hardly have meant that he would fail to reach a ripe old age, and is more likely to have meant that he would not be around for a very important date.[33]

Second, the Christian culture of East Roman society in the sixth and seventh centuries was characterized by a complex of trends whose common factor can be identified as the idea that the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Heaven were in the process and on the point of becoming one:

1. The idea of Constantinople as the New Jerusalem first appears in a text written c.500, and then becomes a standard topos in praise of Constan-

[32] Eusebius, *Tricennial Oration*, III.2; Kosmas Indikopleustes, *Christian Topography*, II. 73–5: ed. Wolska-Conus, I, SC 141 (Paris, 1968), 387–91; Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 11–12; idem, 'Représentation du temps dans l'eschatologie impériale byzantine', *Le temps chrétien*, 440–1; S. MacCormack, 'Christ and Empire, Time and Ceremonial in Sixth-Century Byzantium and Beyond', *Byz* 52 (1982), 287–309.

[33] Malalas, 408; Mango, *Byzantium*, 204.

tinople. Most interestingly for our purpose, it is echoed in the building of two churches in Constantinople. It has recently been argued that the church of St Polyeuktos, completed in 527 by a lady with imperial pretensions, imitated the measurements and the decoration of the Temple of Solomon described in 2 Kings 6. A hymn of Romanos the Melodist written c. 536, during the building of the new Hagia Sophia, celebrates this as an achievement surpassing not only the Jewish Jerusalem of Solomon but also the Christian Jerusalem of Constantine.[34] A later, anonymous, hymn written for the rededication of the church in 562 adds a new twist to the same line of thought: Solomon's Temple was built for one people, but Hagia Sophia is a universal temple for all the nations of the earth. Here we are reminded of the contemporary remark that 'henceforth it is the time for the fulness of the nations to come in'. There was an apocryphal belief that the Second Coming and Last Judgement would take place in Jerusalem. But what if Jerusalem had been superseded by Constantinople?[35]

2. The ambitious and unprecedented programme of church building and religious endowment undertaken by sixth-century emperors was not just an imperial phenomenon, or one confined to Constantinople, as is clear from the large number of sixth-century basilicas which have been excavated all over Greece, Asia Minor and Syria. But it is also clear that the emperors took the lead, and that their most lavish foundations were in Constantinople. By c. 580, a section of the imperial patrimony had been specially set aside for the financing of 'new churches'. From the late fifth century, the building of churches began to outstrip that of other public edifices. At the same time, the church progressively infiltrated the city's social life, as it came to control the facilities for public welfare, including public bathing. Is it sufficient to characterize this transformation merely in general terms of growing piety? Churches were commonly referred to as the houses of the holy persons to whom they were dedicated, and in that sense, the great new churches of Constantinople could easily be considered to be the principal earthly residences of Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles, and the Archangel Michael. If the Second Coming was to be an earthly event, where could the court of heaven be better accommodated than in the New

[34] T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (London, 1978), 14ff.

[35] *Life of Daniel the Stylite*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* (Brussels; 1923), 12; cf. G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1974); R.M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, I (Princeton, 1986), 410–11; Hymnes, ed. Grosdidier de Matons, V, 470–99; C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna, 1968), 141ff. Second Coming in Jerusalem: Pseudo-Chrysostom, *PG* 61, cols 775–6. Cf. the tenth-century vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem as a celestial Constantinople, with Christ officiating in a church in the east of the city (cited by Mango, Byzantium, 216); cf. also the later belief that Christ, on his return, would wear the Crown of Thorns (kept, along with other relics of the Passion, in the Palace of Constantinople): P.E.D. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva, 1877), I, 51.

Jerusalem, and where could the glorious *adventus* of Christ be better celebrated than in Justinian's Great Church?[36]

3. The persecution of deviants, especially pagans, homosexuals, and Jews.
4. The elimination of psychological barriers between heaven and earth, which can be seen happening in five interconnected ways:

   (a) The liturgification of public life, evident in the elaboration of palace ceremonial and the liturgical calendar, together with the growth in the ceremonial functions of the circus and the circus factions. Concomitant with this was the encroachment of 'liturgical time', not only as a framework of chronological reference and as an incentive for chronological computation (to fix the precise date of Easter), but also as a suspension of normal time, which made the whole history of Christian salvation eternally present in the ritual drama of Church and State.[37]

   (b) The refinement of Christian neoplatonism in the work of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (late fifth–early sixth century). Although this emphasized the ultimate unknowability of God, it also emphasized the continuous hierarchy of being which emanated from God, descended to the lowest of his creatures, and allowed them to return to him. Central to the theology of Pseudo-Dionysios was the idea of the Church as an anagogical image of the heavenly hierarchy, which through its sacraments lifted the faithful to the eternity of heaven, transcending time as well as space, and thus anticipating the coming in time of Christ's Kingdom. From the structure of the church hierarchy, the idea was applied both to the structure of the liturgy and to the structure of the church building; its influence can be seen not only in the seventh-century abstract *Mystagogia* of Maximos the Confessor, but also in two mid sixth-century hymns celebrating specific church buildings.[38]

   (c) The development of the theme of intercession. This is most evident, of course, in the cults of the saints, in particular the Virgin. It was

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[36] P. and I. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum* (Athens, 1931, repr. Aalen, 1962), 20; C. Mango, 'The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre', *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers* (New York, 1986), 125ff.; P. Magdalino, 'Church, Bath and Diakonia in Medieval Constantinople', *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. R. Morris (Birmingham, 1990), 165–88.

[37] A.M. Cameron, 'Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium', *Past and Present* 84 (1979), 6–15 (repr. in Cameron, *Change and Continuity in Sixth-Century Byzantium* [London, 1981]); J. Beaucamp et al., 'La Chronique Pascale: le temps approprié', *Le temps chrétien*, 451–68; MacCormack, 'Christ and Empire'.

[38] R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien* (Paris, 1983). Maximos: text in *PG* 91, cols 657–718; Eng. tr. by G. C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor, Selected Writings* (London, 1985), 181ff.; cf. R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins sur la divine liturgie* (Paris, 1966), chapter 2; Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, 141ff.; A. Palmer, with Lyn Rodley, 'The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa', *BMGS* 12 (1988), 117–67, esp. 137ff.

during the late sixth and early seventh centuries that she properly came into her own as patron and mediator for Constantinople. But the theme of intercession is also to be found in poems on religious pictures and in praise of the emperor. Paul the Silentiary, in his verse Ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia, celebrated the building above all as a work of salvation, by which Justinian both saved himself and brought his people to God.[39]

(d) The assimilation of the earthly empire to the Kingdom of Heaven. The idea that the Roman Empire was a pale imitation of heaven, and that the heavenly order could be described in terms of imperial court procedure, was not new in the sixth century. It had been adumbrated in the 330s by Eusebius of Caesarea in his writings in praise of Constantine, and had been elaborated by later writers, notably St John Chrysostom. But in writings of the seventh century, the analogy appears in a much less qualified form: it is simply assumed that angels can be mistaken for court eunuchs, that a saint will appear in the guise of an imperial dignitary, that leaving one's family to take the monastic habit is just like going to court to receive the insignia of office from the emperor, that after death the soul will pass through a series of customs posts manned by merciless bureaucratic demons, that the liturgy is attended by angels keeping a roll-call. There is even, in the *Miracles of St Demetrios*, what looks like a deliberate confusion between the earthly and heavenly levels.[40]

(e) The proliferation of holy phenomena which, as Peter Brown has suggested, can best be characterized as divine *epiphaneiai*, and which, in a sense, form an exact pendant to the disasters of the time. For as with those disasters, no less remarkable than the phenomena themselves is the interest with which they were recounted. There were remarkable holy men, some of a conventional kind, and others whose holiness took new and paradoxical forms, notably Symeon the Fool for Christ and John the Almsgiver. The biographer of these two saints, Leontios of Neapolis, was evidently keen to make the point that extreme holiness is no longer confined to desert places or country columns, but has penetrated to the very centre of the towns – to the

[39] A. M. Cameron, 'The Cult of the Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople', *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978), 79–108 (repr. in Cameron, *Change and Continuity*). Agathias, in *Anth. Gr.* I. 34–5. Paul the Silentiary: text ed. P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius* (Leipzig, 1912); cf. R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, 'The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's Description of Hagia Sophia', *BMGS* 12 (1988), 47–82.

[40] P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de Saint Démétrius* (Paris, 1979), I, 80, 161ff.; *Miracles of St Artemios*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* (St Petersburg, 1909; repr. Leipzig, 1975), 11–12; Leontios of Neapolis, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. Festugière (Paris, 1974), 62–3, 65–7, 379–80, 396–7 (cf. 613ff.), 403.

> underworld of Emesa and to the wealthy, worldly church of Alexandria. At home, as well as beyond the frontier, the world was being converted to Christ. At the same time, Christ was making surprise appearances among men. One holy man, Symeon Stylites II, was treated to several extraordinary visions of Christ descending from heaven in majesty – visions which, to contemporaries who heard about them, must have sounded like sneak previews of the Second Coming. Meanwhile, the world was becoming aware of the existence of several images of Christ 'not made by hand' (ἀχειροποίητοι). The most famous were the image of Edessa, which was 'invented' after the Persian siege of the city in 544, and the image of Kamouliana near Caesarea in Asia Minor, of which an equally famous copy was made, and, on the emperor's orders, paraded throughout the region in annual processions from 554 to 560.[41]

With the *acheiropoietoi*, we come to the key phenomenon in the whole complex: the icon. The notion of image or likeness (εἰκών) underlies all the developments just described, and the veneration of religious pictures was to become one of the definitive features of Byzantine Christianity, as well as the most controversial. Moreover, icons provide the most direct evidence of a link between the new ideological trends and contemporary expectations of the Second Coming. Our source for the discovery and parading of the Kamouliana icon goes on to comment:

> And I believe that these [things] happened under the direction of Providence, because there are two comings of Christ according to the purport of the Scriptures, one in humility ... and a future one in glory; which we are awaiting; and this same thing is a type of the mystery and picture and wreathed image (λαυρᾶτον) of the king and lord of those above and those below, which shall be quickly revealed.[42]

That this was not just a personal opinion is suggested by the later history of the image. In the ninth year of the reign of Justin II (574) it was removed to Constantinople, along with a fragment of the True Cross from Apamea in Syria – another legendary object which, like the image of Edessa, had given miraculous aid during the Persian invasions.[43] The translation of the Kamouliana

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[41] P. Brown, 'Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: a parting of the ways', *The Orthodox Churches and the West, Studies in Church History* 13 (Oxford, 1976), 14ff., repr. in Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London, 1982), 182ff.; Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV. 27, 33ff.; Leontios of Neapolis, ed. Festugière, passim; P. Van der Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune* (Brussels, 1962), 39, 44, 82–3, 90–1, 119ff.; *Chronicle of Zachariah of Mytilene*, tr. Hamilton-Brooks, 321–2. On the *acheiropoietoi*, cf. E. Kitzinger, 'The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm', *DOP* 8 (1954), 112–5; A. M. Cameron, 'The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story', *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday* (= Harvard Ukrainian Studies, 7) (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 80–94.

[42] *Chronicle of Zachariah of Mytilene, loc. cit.*, cf. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, TU N.S., 3 (Leipzig, 1899), 7**ff.; Kitzinger, 'Cult of Images', 99–100.

[43] Cedrenus (*CSHB*) I, 684–5; Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.26.

image obviously marked an important stage in the development of the official adoption of icons, and, as Averil Cameron has shown, it is hardly a coincidence that Justin II was the emperor who built the Chrysotriklinos and decorated it with mosaic icons, including one of Christ in the apse.[44] But the full significance of the icon's translation can only be understood with reference to another event which scholars have so far failed to discuss in the same context, even though it is recorded in the same chronicle entry. This was the institution of the *Cheroubikon*, the hymn sung in the Orthodox liturgy after the reading of the Gospel and before the second or Great Entrance of the clergy, when they process from the sacristy through the church bearing the bread and wine.[45] The very words of the hymn have eschatological as well as anagogical overtones:

> We who mystically represent the Cherubim, sing the thrice-holy hymn to the life-giving Trinity. Let us put away all worldly care, so that we may receive the King of all, invisibly escorted by the angelic hosts.

The eschatological overtones are reinforced by the insertion of the hymn at the moment of transition from the Liturgy of the Word to the Liturgy of the Faithful. The Liturgy of the Word was open to catechumens as well as baptized Christians, because it was concerned with announcing the truth, in readings from the Old Testament, the Epistles, and the Gospels. But the Liturgy of the Faithful was open only to the initiate, because it revealed the full mystery of the Word made Flesh. In the words of Maximos the Confessor's *Mystagogia*, written some 55 years later, the reading of the Gospel 'signifies and announces the truth of which it is a likeness and a type, as if proclaiming that, as the Scripture says, after the preaching of the Kingdom in all the world, then the End will come, with Christ descending from heaven in his Second Coming'; and this, Maximos says, is symbolized by the bishop's descent from his throne after the Gospel reading.[46] In other words, the *Cheroubikon* marked the liturgical moment corresponding to the moment in history at which the Byzantines could consider themselves to be in 574: the moment when the Gospel had been preached, and the 'fulness of the nations' was about to come in.

The icons of Christ appearing at this time were therefore in a very real sense portraits announcing the *adventus* in glory of the heavenly King. Later, pro-icon theology would insist that such icons were essentially memorials of Christ's historical, human form. But this does not seem to have been the main emphasis in the mid sixth century. The monumental depictions at San Vitale, Ravenna, the Rotonda and Hosios David in Thessaloniki, and at Mt Sinai, all depict not the humble humanity but the glorious divinity of the Son of God,

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[44] Cameron, 'Images of Authority', 16–17.

[45] R. F. Taft, *The Great Entrance, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 20 (Rome, 1978), chapter 2; N. K. Moran, 'The Musical "Gestaltung" of the Great Entrance Ceremony in the Twelfth Century in Accordance with the Rite of Hagia Sophia', *JÖB* 28 (1979), 168–9.

[46] *PG* 91.693, 708.

and the Thessaloniki mosaics have been seen as pointedly apocalyptic.[47] That this was not just a matter of provincial idiosyncrasy is clear from Paul the Silentiary's description of the portrait medallion of Christ in the silver chancel screen made for the second dedication of Hagia Sophia in 562. Here the artist

> engraved the figure of the immaculate God who, without seed, clothed himself in human form. Elsewhere he has carved the host of winged angels bowing down their necks, for they are unable to gaze upon the glory of God, though hidden under a veil of human form – he is still God, even if he has put on the flesh that removes sin (693–9).[48]

This emphasis may have been intended as a concession to the Monophysites, whom Justinian made a last effort to woo at the end of his reign by embracing the doctrine of Aphthartodocetism, much to the embarrassment of his patriarch, Eutychios.[49] Yet it was not until three years after the rededication of the church that Justinian issued his Aphthartodocetist edict and Eutychios resigned in protest. It is in any case unlikely that either the iconography of the screen, or Paul's celebration of it – which honoured the patriarch as well as the emperor – would have contained a contentious statement on sensitive Christological issues.[50] It is more likely that the iconography referred not to the controversial chemistry of Christ's mortal life, but to his presence in heaven and to his future appearance, which all agreed would be in great glory.[51]

The apocalyptic potential of the icon of Christ is further illustrated in a surviving work of art, the Barberini ivory.[52] In the upper register of this plaque depicting the triumph of a sixth-century emperor, possibly Justinian, we see a clipeate image of Christ held by two angels who are pointedly looking away. That they do so because they cannot bear the brightness is perhaps suggested by the presence of all the heavenly lights in the clipeus of the icon. Another point of interest is that the angels are carrying an *image* of Christ. The iconography was obviously derived from that which showed angels (or Victories)

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[47] See in general E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London, 1977), chapters 3–6; for the monuments of Thessaloniki, W. E. Kleinbauer, 'The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki', *Viator* 3 (1972), 28–44; J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle* (Paris, 1984), 163ff. and works cited.

[48] The translation is that by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 324–1453. Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 87.

[49] E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris/Brussels/Amsterdam, 1949), II, 685ff.

[50] Cf. Mary Whitby, 'Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople: An Epic Holy Man', *Homo Viator. Classical Essays for John Bramble*, eds Michael Whitby, Philip Hardie, Mary Whitby (Bristol, 1987), 297–308.

[51] Cyril of Jerusalem: *PG* 33.869; John Chrysostom: *PG* 57–8.554; 60.538. This does not mean, of course, that depictions of Christ in glory referred exclusively to the apocalyptic future: see Y. Christe, 'Apocalypse et interprétation iconographique: quelques remarques liminaires sur les images du règne de Dieu et de l'Eglise à l'époque paléochrétienne', *BZ* 67 (1974), 92–100.

[52] See *Age of Spirituality*, ed. K. Weitzmann (New York, 1979), no.28.

holding the sign of the cross.[53] Now the sign of the cross meant many things, but among those things, it was identified, in patristic and pseudo-patristic writings, as the sign of the Son of Man which Christ had said would appear in the sky immediately before his arrival in glory (Matt.24.30). According to John Chrysostom, it would be brighter than the sun.[54] According to Ephraim the Syrian, it would appear 'with great glory and a host of angels', while a pseudo-Chrysostomic text specifies that angels will carry it.[55] Whether iconography influenced prophecy or vice versa is not relevant to our discussion. Either way, one possible reading of the Barberini ivory is that in the sixth century, the portrait icon of Christ was emerging as an alternative to the cross as the sign of the Son of Man, with all that this implied.

Icons came of age during the reign of Heraclius (610–41), at the same time that the hopes and fears aroused by the advent of the seventh millennium were coming to a head. Heraclius, who delivered the empire from the disastrous and tyrannical rule of Phokas (602–10), and then, after a decade of destructive Persian and Avar invasions, went on to crush the Persian Empire, was naturally celebrated as the author of cosmic renewal.[56] But it is clear that he was also seen, and saw himself, as an agent of cosmic fulfilment. His patronage of the 'philosopher' and astrologer Stephen of Alexandria shows that he was keeping a close watch on the future.[57] The Avar-Persian siege of Constantinople in 626 was seen as the fulfilment of prophecies by Isaiah and Ezekiel, and the Avars were explicitly likened to the nation of Gog.[58] Four contemporary texts record prophecies that the end of the world was imminent.[59] The most interesting, and probably the closest to Heraclius' own thinking, is the one which Theophylact Simocatta, the official historian of the reign of Maurice (582–602), ascribes to the vanquished Persian king Khushraw II (591–628). Khushraw had allegedly prophesied 21 years of Persian ascendancy, followed by seven years in which Rome would enslave Persia; then, 'the day without evening would

[53] Cf. *Age of Spirituality*, nos 68, 70, 477, 480.

[54] *PG* 57–8.698.

[55] Ephraim, *Opera graeca*, ed. J. Assemani, II (Rome, 1746), 212; Ps.-Chrys., PG 61.775.

[56] George of Pisidia, *Poemi, I. Panegirici epici*, ed. A. Pertusi (Ettal, 1960), III.372; VI passim, esp. (1) 82ff.

[57] See P. Lemerle, tr. H. Lindsay, A. Moffatt, *Byzantine Humanism* (Canberra, 1986), 88–9 n.29.

[58] Ed. L. Sternbach, 'Analecta Avarica', *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejetnosci, Wydial filolog.*, 2nd ser., 14 (Cracow, 1900), 298–320, esp. 314ff. Cf. P. J. Alexander, 'The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes', Speculum 37 (1962), 346f.; S. Spain Alexander, 'Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology, and the David Plates', *Speculum* 52 (1977), 222–3; Cameron, 'Images of Authority', 5–6, 20–21.

[59] G. Garitte, 'La Passion géorgienne de Sainte Golindouch', *AB* 74 (1956), 439; *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière (Brussels, 1970), I, 106; E.A.W. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1889), 158. See also following note.

dawn among men', as the corruptible world gave way to a more perfect order.[60] It is not clear how much of this was *vaticinium ex eventu*; but it must have been well on the way to being realized when Heraclius won his final victory in 628. As Mango has shown, he celebrated in 'deliberately apocalyptic' style.[61] His six years of campaigning were compared to the six days of creation.[62] Having, it seemed, converted the Persians to Christ, he attempted, in 632, to convert the Jews – for was it not written that Israel would return to the Lord in the last days, after the 'fulness of the nations' had come in (Rom. 11.26)?[63] In 630 he solemnly restored to Jerusalem the piece of the True Cross that the Persians had taken from the city.[64] It is not entirely clear whether he was inspired by, or inspired, the apocalyptic legend of the Last Emperor who would lay down his crown in Jerusalem.[65] Heraclius, of course, did not lay down his crown, but he did the next best thing: he changed his imperial title from *autokrator* to *basileus* – the title by which not only the Persian king, but also the ancient kings of Israel, and Christ himself, were known. From 629 the Roman emperor signed himself 'faithful *basileus* in Christ'.[66] The merger between the empire and the Kingdom of Heaven was now official.

Whatever Heraclius expected to happen next, his calculations were seriously upset.[67] But just how seriously was not perhaps apparent during his reign or those of his immediate successors. The immediate effect of the Arab conquests would have been to heighten the sense of apocalyptic drama, by revealing, at last, the true identity of the principal villain. When the caliph Omar entered Jerusalem, the patriarch Sophronios is said to have exclaimed, 'behold the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place'.[68] The dénouement was

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[60] Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae*, V.15, 3ff; ed. C. de Boor, rev. P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1972), 216–17; Eng. tr. Michael and Mary Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (Oxford, 1985), 22.

[61] Mango, *Byzantium*, 205.

[62] Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883; repr. Hildesheim, 1980), I, 327–8; cf. George of Pisidia, *Hexaemeron*, PG 92, 1575–6.

[63] A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), 42ff.; cf. George of Pisidia, ed. Pertusi, V.25–6.

[64] See C. Mango, 'Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse Sassanide', *TM* 9 (1987), 112–13, 116–17.

[65] The case for a pre-Heraclian date becomes less convincing if the relevant passage in the Latin version of the Tiburtine Sibyl (fourth century) is regarded as an interpolation contemporary with, or later than, the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius: Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* 62–3, n.44.

[66] I. Shahid, 'The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius', *DOP* 26 (1972), 293–320, esp. 308, n.56; idem, 'Heraclius πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεύς, *DOP* 34–5 (1980–1), 225–37; E. Chrysos, 'The Title βασιλεύς in Early Byzantine International Relations', *DOP* 32 (1978), 29–75; (contra) I. Shahid, 'On the Titulature of the Emperor Heraclius', *Byz* 51 (1981), 28–36.

[67] On the seventh-century crisis in general see: J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford, 1987), chapters 5–6; J. F. Haldon, 'Ideology and Social Change in the Seventh Century, Military Discontent as a Barometer', *Klio* 68 (1986), 139–90; Mango, *Byzantium*, 205ff.

[68] Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 339.

obviously going to be messier than expected, but it might still be swift, and the Roman Empire would still be on the side of the angels. It was in the mid to late seventh century that a Syrian Christian incorporated the legend of the Last Roman Emperor into an elaborate apocalyptic prophecy which, circulating under the pseudonym of Methodios of Patara, and translated into Greek and Latin, enjoyed a long future in both East and West.[69] Possibly under the influence of some such prophecy, the emperor Justinian II (685–95, 705–10) sent against the Muslims an army of captured Slavs whom he named the 'Chosen People'.[70] The same emperor gave graphic expression to the title 'faithful *basileus* in Christ' by issuing coins with the icon of Christ on the obverse and his own portrait on the reverse.[71] When the Arabs launched their great three-pronged offensive against Constantinople in 717, an apocalypse was composed for the benefit of the reigning emperor Theodosius III, and when he was deposed, the text was amended to apply to his successor Leo III (717–41).[72] Another Byzantine prophecy, about the lion and his cub who would together pursue the wild ass, can be traced back to Leo's reign.[73] Like Heraclius, Leo tried to convert the Jews, whose own Messianic expectations had been aroused by the siege of Constantinople and the prospect that Christendom and Islam were about to destroy each other.[74] The apocalyptic mood of the times is further reflected in the extraordinary story, preserved in the two main narrative sources, that when the people of Pergamon prepared to do battle with the invader, they cut open a pregnant woman and boiled up her foetus in a cauldron into which they then dipped their swords. As a German scholar has recently pointed out, this was a practice attributed by legend to Gog and Magog, and Pergamon happened to be the birthplace of a recent heterodox emperor, as well as a city rich in the remains of pagan temples, which were, of course, notorious haunts of demons.[75] There was a growing obsession with the prophetic meaning of ancient sculptures: the reign of Leo III is one date that has been assigned to the compilation of the *Parastaseis*, that enigmatic collection of tales reflecting the activities of 'philosophers' who decipher the public monuments of Constantinople.[76] Only eight years after the siege of Con-

[69] Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 13–60; Haldon, 'Ideology', 168–9, n.74.

[70] Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 366.

[71] *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, eds A.R. Bellinger, P. Grierson, II/2 (Washington, D.C., 1968), 568–609, 647–63; Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, 311.

[72] K. Berger, *Die griechische Daniel-Diegese* (Leiden, 1976); on the date, see C. Mango, 'The Life of St Andrew the Fool Reconsidered', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982), 310–13 (repr. in Mango, *Byzantium and its Image* [London, 1984], VIII). In the main part of this article, Mango argues that the Life of St Andrew the Fool, and the apocalypse which it contains, should also be dated to the late seventh or early eighth century. See also above, n.15, and below, n.116.

[73] Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 172–4.

[74] Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, 61ff., esp. 64–5.

[75] W. Brandes, 'Apokalyptisches in Pergamon', *BSl* 48 (1987), 1–11.

[76] A.M. Cameron, J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century. The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984); Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*.

stantinople had been broken, the submerged volcano at Thera erupted in what was probably the most spectacular act of God to have affected the Aegean world since the famous eruption of the same volcano in c. 1500 B.C. The eruption of 726 threw up a new island, and showers of pumice, which fell all over the Aegean. The sources, which were written long after the event, note that this was interpreted as a sign of divine displeasure. At the time, it may well have given rise to much more alarmist speculation, since it must have been accompanied by tidal waves and followed by weeks of blood-red sunsets.[77]

All in all, then, the atmosphere in the early eighth century was as doom-laden and apocalyptic as ever. But there was now an important difference. The empire was not only far more reduced and embattled than at any previous time; it also lacked the sense of imminent fulfilment, of the dawning of a new era, which had characterized the period from Justinian to Heraclius. After the siege of 717, it was clear that the struggle with the Arabs had reached an impasse: they were not going to take Constantinople, but neither were they going to be shifted from Syria and Egypt, where their occupation far exceeded the three and a half years prescribed for the reign of Antichrist. The world was also now more than 200 years into its seventh millennium. Byzantine society was therefore led to review the assumptions which had guided it for the past two centuries. The establishment was divided in its reactions. One reaction, led by the emperor Leo III, was to point the finger at certain institutions which the empire had adopted in the sixth century. Leo III commissioned a new law code, the *Ecloga*, to replace the Justinianic legal corpus.[78] More controversially, he challenged the veneration of icons.[79] He began, after the eruption of 726, by removing the icon of Christ from the main entrance to the palace and erecting a plain cross.[80] Iconoclasm, as recent studies have shown, was an attack not on the concept of religious images, but on what it regarded as false images, as opposed to true images, above all the sign of the cross. Leo and his supporters were seeking to replace images that had manifestly failed, because they were tainted with idolatry, by an image that in their eyes had altogether better credentials. The cross was the sign in which Constantine had conquered; it was also, we may recall, traditionally identified with the apocalyptic sign of the Son of Man.

The other, and, as it eventually proved, more orthodox reaction to the crisis was not to question traditional images, but to reinterpret their significance. In

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[77] Nikephoros, *Opuscula historica*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), 57; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 404–5; Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, 334–5.

[78] Ed. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos V.* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983).

[79] On Iconoclasm in general, see Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, chapter 8.

[80] The most recent discussion is in Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, 335–6, suggesting that the cross was put up in a different place; and hence did not necessarily replace the icon over the Chalke Gate. It is difficult, however, to think of a more likely location than this, which was the main public, ceremonial 'front' of the imperial Great Palace.

mid sixth-century images of Christ, as we have seen, the accent had been on his awesome, eternal divinity. But the early eighth-century apologists for icon veneration, the patriarch Germanos and St John of Damascus, based their whole theology on the premise that pictures of Christ represented his historical human form.[81] This was partly a natural counter to the charge of idolatry, and partly a consequence of the final resolution of the Christological question in the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680–1), which had fully rehabilitated Christ's human nature after two centuries of imperial fudging of the issue in order to appease Monophysite opinion. One exponent of the theology that triumphed at the council recommended that the orthodox should illustrate their teachings with pictures of the crucified Christ.[82] But are the Second Commandment and Christology alone sufficient to explain the shift in emphasis? The same shift can be seen in orthodox interpretations of another image of Christ, the eucharistic liturgy. St Maximos the Confessor (580–662) and the patriarch Germanos (715–30) were both equally Orthodox commentators, but while the former in his *Mystagogia* interpreted the liturgy as an anagogical experience, the latter, as the title of his commentary implies (*Historia Ecclesiastica*), was much more concerned to see it as a historical drama symbolizing Christ's Passion and Resurrection.[83] When due allowance has been made for the influences of different exegetical traditions, and for possible differences in readership, we can see here a real change in perspective. The change in eschatological perspective is particularly striking. Both authors see the actual Eucharist as an image of ultimate fulfilment in Christ, and both attribute eschatological significance to the moment of the Gospel reading. But while for Maximos, writing at the time of Heraclius' triumph over Persia, this is the image of the moment when eschatology is realized in the Second Coming, for Germanos it is prophetic of an event that lies very definitely in the future: 'The bishop's blessing of the people indicates that the future parousia of Christ will be in the year 6500, through the figure ϛφ which he traces with his fingers'.[84]

If this passage belongs to the text of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* as Germanos wrote it, it is a remarkable piece of evidence. Germanos was not content merely to discard Maximos' interpretation of the liturgy as realized eschatology, but wanted to put in its place an authoritative statement to the effect that eschatology was still about 300 years from being realized – for the year 6500 corresponded to +/- A.D. 1000. Since the *Historia* is not otherwise a prophetic work, the patriarch's purpose in including such a prophecy cannot have been to encourage apocalyptic speculation, but rather to discourage it – to divest the liturgy and, perhaps, other images of Christ, of the expectancy that

[81] Germanos: *PG* 98.173B–C, 176C, 180D; John of Damascus: *PG* 94.1237–40, 1245, 1248, 1269B.

[82] See A.D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis* (Princeton, 1986), chapter 3, esp. 57ff.

[83] St Germanus of Constantinople, *On the Divine Liturgy*, ed. and tr. P. Meyendorff (New York, 1984).

[84] *On the Divine Liturgy*, 33; p.82.

surrounded them, and to dismiss any idea that the terrible events through which the empire was living were the Last Things. To this extent, the prophecy can be considered a manifesto against the apocalypticism of the time. It is tempting to think that Germanos aimed it at the emperor Leo III, and that it was in some way connected with his opposition to the emperor's iconoclast policy, which eventually cost him his patriarchal throne.[85] Unfortunately, the work cannot be dated so precisely – for all we know, Germanos wrote it before Leo came to the throne. Moreover, Germanos was almost certainly not the first to circulate the prophecy, and 6500 was not the only terminus being proposed at the time. This is clear from a text attributed to a monk Theophanios and dateable to the year 710. Here the prophecy is added to a series of computations in order to prove that Christ has extended the calculable age of the world by 120 years: i.e. but for his mercy, the end should come 888 years after his birth, that is in 880 A.D. according to the most common Byzantine dating system.[86] The connection between iconoclasm and eschatology clearly needs much more thorough investigation than can be attempted here. But I hope to have shown that the connection is worth exploring. For this much can be said for certain: first, the crisis in the veneration of icons coincided closely with a crisis in the eschatological framework in which that veneration had developed; second, the churchman who first came to the defence of images in their traditional form was also at the forefront of efforts to promote a new eschatological time-scale which allowed plenty of time to prepare for the Second Coming.

We must now ask what effect the new projections had on the mentality of future generations. In the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries the empire experienced a steady political and cultural revival, which consciously looked back for inspiration to the forms and institutions of the period before the Arab invasions. Was there a corresponding revival of the old sixth- and seventh-century *Reichseschatologie* in anticipation of a new terminus? One possible terminus was, as we have seen, the year 880. The evidence suggests that, after a relative lull in the late eighth century, speculation revived and intensified in the course of the ninth century. It is in connection with the emperor Leo V (813–20) that we first hear of emperors consulting books of illustrated Sibylline prophecies that were kept in the palace library.[87] Three extant apocalyptic texts can be dated to 827–9, 842 and 869 respectively.[88] The last of these was composed, and the year 880 happened to fall, in the reign of Basil I (867–86), who was very keen to project himself as a ruler of uncommon destiny, in ways which are distinctly reminiscent of Justinian, Heraclius and Leo III.[89] There was heavy

[85] Meyendorff, *On the Divine Liturgy*, 48ff.

[86] E. von Dobschütz, 'Coislinianus 296', *BZ* 12 (1903), 534–67 (text 550–1); Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 97.

[87] Theophanes Continuatus (CSHB), 36.

[88] Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, chapter 3.

[89] For the following, see P. Magdalino, 'Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I', *JÖB* 37 (1987), 51–64.

emphasis on renewal; there was also, as in the sixth century, a strong sense that the emperor of Constantinople was converting the world to Christ. Byzantine missionaries were making great progress among the Slavs. Basil crushed the Paulician heresy which had flourished for decades on the empire's eastern borders. He led victorious campaigns against the Arabs which gave rise to hopes that he might liberate Jerusalem. At home, Basil tried even more energetically than Heraclius and Leo III to convert the Jews. He was also a great church builder – probably the greatest since Justin II. Not only did he restore all the major churches of the capital and build several oratories in the imperial palace; he also built a Great New Church – the Nea Ekklesia – in deliberate reminiscence of Solomon's Temple as well as Justinian's Hagia Sophia. The Nea, consecrated in 880, was dedicated to Christ and the Virgin, but especially to the Archangels Gabriel and Michael, and the Prophet Elijah. Basil was particularly devoted to Elijah, whom, according to one source, he expected to give him a lift up to heaven in the fiery chariot. Can this devotion – almost unique among Byzantine emperors – have been altogether dissociated from the traditional belief that Elijah would reappear at the end of time, either alone or accompanied by Enoch, in order to denounce Antichrist?[90]

The passing of the year 880 focused attention ever more clearly on the middle of the seventh millennium, and there is evidence that considerable hopes and fears were invested in and around this date. The late antique astrologer Vettius Valens was credited with a horoscope calculating that Constantinople, and hence the world, would come to an end 696 years from the consecration of the city in 330.[91] Another retrospective horoscope, attributed to Stephen of Alexandria, predicted the final destruction of Islam in 986/7.[92] One anonymous author prophesied the birth of Antichrist in the year 1000.[93] Some verses attributed to Anthimos, *chartophylax* of the Great Church, foretold the end of the world in 1025.[94] The well known tenth-century hagiographer and theologian Niketas the Paphlagonian wrote a treatise on the end of the world in which he discusses a number of predictions currently in circulation and adds some ideas of his own. In the first treatise, he proposes the date 6636 (1128), but in the second, he seems to settle for the prophecy which we have already encountered in

[90] For Basil and Elijah, see Gy. Moravcsik, 'Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I', *DOP* 15 (1961), 90–91. Elijah's return: Malachi 4.5; Romanos, ed. Grosdidier de Matons, V. strophe 4; Oikoumenios, ed. Hoskier, 128; Alexander, *Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 211ff. Apart from Basil's son Leo VI, the only other Byzantine emperor who showed comparable devotion to Elijah was Zeno (474–91), who built the prophet's main church in Constantinople: *Patria*, ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig 1907), 239–40.

[91] D. Pingree, 'The Horoscope of Constantinople', *Πρίσματα* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 305–15; Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 97–8.

[92] Cedrenus, 717; H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, III (Leipzig/Berlin, 1914), 257.

[93] E. von Dobschütz, 'Eine Sammelhandschrift des 16. Jahrhunderts', *BZ* 15 (1906), 261.

[94] G. Mercati, 'Anthimi de proximo saeculi fine', *Opere minori, II, Studi e Testi* 77 (Rome, 1937), 298–304; Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 93.

Germanos and Theophanios; refining this by a calculation which is hard to follow, he arrives at a date corresponding to either 996 or 1041. At all events, he is convinced that 'the end of days has arrived', and that this is everywhere obvious in the moral corruption of state, church, and the monastic life.[95]

Niketas was not alone in looking for apocalyptic portents in the world around him. According to Leo the Deacon, writing under Basil II (975–1025), contemporary wars, earthquakes and meteorological disorders were widely interpreted as signs that 'life is now undergoing a transformation, and the awaited Second Descent of God our Saviour is at the gates'. Leo says that he has decided to record 'these things full of fear and wonder, that they may be a lesson to later men, should it be that Providence has not decreed that life's ferry boat must dock right now in the harbour of the End'.[96] The empire's recent wars with the Russians gave particular cause for alarm, since in the Septuagint text of Ezekiel, Ros was a name associated with Gog and Magog (Ez.38, 1).[97]

The tenth century saw a revival of interest in the Apocalypse of St John. Arethas of Caesarea wrote a new commentary; Niketas the Paphlagonian strongly defended the book's scriptural authenticity, and used the Number of the Beast in his eschatological calculations. Both authors evidently found the Apocalypse congenial to their jaundiced view of the imperial establishment, and above all of the emperor Leo VI (886–912), whom both severely criticized for his uncanonical fourth marriage.[98] At the same time, there was a revival of the optimistic eschatology of Kosmas Indikopleustes: shortly before the middle of the seventh millennium, Basil, metropolitan of Neopatras, wrote a commentary on the Book of Daniel which even more explicitly than Kosmas states the view that the Christian Roman Empire stands outside the succession of world empires and is therefore identical with the Kingdom of the Saints.[99]

Altogether, the evidence for a build-up of eschatological tension in the tenth century is impressive. Once we are aware of it, can it fail to colour our perception of the great political and cultural achievements of the period: the 'Macedonian Renaissance' and the grand military offensives against the empire's neighbours, which sometimes took on the character of holy wars?[100] The hagiographical encyclopaedism of Symeon Metaphrastes and the imperial Menologion takes on new significance when it is seen in the context of the belief

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[95] L.G. Westerink, 'Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the World', *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas* (Thessaloniki, 1975), 177–95.

[96] Leo Diaconus (*CSHB*), 4.

[97] *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 176; Mango, *Byzantium*, 211–2.

[98] See above, n.95, *PG* 106.713 (Arethas on Constantinople as Babylon the Great). For recent discussion and bibliography on Arethas, Niketas and the Tetragamy, see B. Flusin, 'Un fragment inédit de la Vie d'Euthyme le Patriarche? II. Vie d'Euthyme ou Vie de Nicétas?' *TM* 10 (1987), 233–60, esp. 251ff.

[99] Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 38–9.

[100] M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* (Cambridge, 1986), 249ff.

that the world would end when the population of heaven was complete.[101] And is our assessment of the great Basil II not affected by the knowledge that the fatal year 6500 fell in his reign? At any rate, we should not dismiss this knowledge out of hand when trying, for example, to make sense of the fact that this provident statesman lived a life of ascetic celibacy, and was content to be succeeded by a brother who had no son and no married daughter. Was this apparent insouciance about the succession – which may remind us of Justinian – simply the Stalinesque megalomania of an autocrat who could not bear to contemplate a future without him? Or was it, perhaps, megalomania tinged with the pious belief that there would be no future worth planning for?

The year 6500 came and went without major incident. This did not immediately put an end to hopes and fears of an imminent Second Coming. Symeon the New Theologian, although no prophet of doom, was sure that this would happen before the end of the seventh millennium.[102] Only 50 years after Basil II's death the empire came close to extinction; yet by the end of the century it had staged a remarkable recovery, and a Christian army nominally under imperial leadership had conquered Jerusalem. The emperor at the time, Alexios I Komnenos – who commissioned a mosaic of the Last Judgement for the imperial palace – was not slow to grasp the apocalyptic potential of these sensational events, for according to the historian Zonaras he took seriously the prophecy of certain monks that he would not die before he had gone to Jerusalem, where he would lay down his crown.[103] Zonaras does not attribute any eschatological significance to this prophecy, and modern historians have failed to comment on it, but the motif is easily recognizable from apocalyptic literature: Alexios was being cast in the role of the Last Emperor. Since Alexios' successors were determined to succeed where he had failed in his dealings with the crusader states, and since, moreover, the Last Emperor prophecy was an important part of the ideology of French and German monarchs who took the cross, we can assume that it was never far from the minds of Byzantine emperors and imperial propagandists throughout the twelfth century.[104] In passing, we may recall that 1128 was one terminus suggested

[101] H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), 271, 273; Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 337–9. For the belief see above, n.24, and Symeon the New Theologian, *Traités théologiques et éthiques*, ed. J. Darrouzès, I, *SC* 122 (Paris, 1966), 220–40, esp. 236. Symeon himself encountered stiff opposition from the church authorities when he tried to promote the cult of a new saint: Niketas Stethatos, *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, ed. I. Hausherr (Rome, 1928), 98ff.

[102] Darrouzès, op.cit., 344.

[103] Zonaras (*CSHB*) III, 760. On the Last Judgement mosaic in the Palace, see Nicholas Kallikles, ed. R. Romano, *Nicola Callicle, Carmi* (Naples, 1980), 101–2; cf. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century', *ByzForsch* 8 (1982), 124–6.

[104] See P. Magdalino, 'The Phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos', *Byzantium and the West: IX–XIII centuries*, ed. J.D. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam, 1988), 188–9; J. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1986), 384–6.

by Niketas the Paphlagonian, and we may note that when the emperor John II suffered his fatal hunting accident early in 1143, he was preparing not only to reconquer Antioch from the Latins but also to lead his army on to Jerusalem. Astrology flourished at the court of John's successor, Manuel Komnenos, and so did prophecy in the Sibylline manner. It was probably in Manuel's reign that the so-called Oracles of Leo the Wise were compiled in something like their present form.[105] The approach of the Second Crusade in 1147 gave rise to panic speculation that old prophecies about the destruction of Constantinople were about to come true.[106] Manuel and his cousin Andronikos, who eventually succeeded him, were both firm believers in the AIMA prophecy: the prediction that the initials of the succession of emperors started by Alexios I would spell the Greek word for blood. Andronikos was readily identified with the emperor of one oracular prophecy, and his successor, Isaac Angelos, was keen to identify himself with another such figure.[107]

The loss of Constantinople in 1204, and its recovery in 1261 by a highly controversial emperor, inspired new updates of old apocalyptic material.[108] According to a prophecy circulating in Epiros at the end of the thirteenth century, there was no hope that the empire would be renewed, since the 1271 years of the Cross had run their course under Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258–82).[109] The disastrous reign of Michael's son Andronikos II (1282–1328) must have confirmed such suspicions, and his subjects must have awaited the year 1324 with some dread, for an oracle which had been in circulation at least since the 1140s proclaimed 'Woe unto thee, City of the Seven Hills, for thou shalt not live to be a thousand'.[110]

By now, however, attention was coming to focus on a date that was symbolically more satisfying than any other terminus: the end of the seventh millennium.[111] When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, leaving barely 40 years to go until the deadline, it required little imagination or juggling of the figures to believe that the reign of Antichrist had arrived. Gennadios Scholarios, the first patriarch under the new regime, consoled himself and his flock with the thought that they did not have long to suffer.[112] That this hope

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[105] C. Mango, 'The Legend of Leo the Wise', *ZRVI* 6 (1960), 59–93, repr. in Mango, *Byzantium and its Image*, XVI.

[106] John Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone (Leipzig, 1972), 87–8.

[107] Mango, 'Legend'; P. Karlin-Hayter, 'Le portrait d'Andronic I Comnène et les Oracula Leonis Sapientis', *ByzForsch* 12 (1987), 103–23.

[108] Mango, *Byzantium*, 212–3; for prophecies after the Fourth Crusade cf. Michael Choniates, *Τὰ σωζόμενα*, ed. Sp. Lambros (Athens, 1879–80), II, 188–91.

[109] Sp. Lambros, Η πρόρρησις τοῦ 'Ανδριτζοπούλου, *NE* 3 (1906), 474–6.

[110] Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, ed. Leone (see n. 106).

[111] Kourouses, Αἱ ἀντιλήψεις (see above, n. 24), 217–23. For the same belief in fifteenth-century Russia, cf. *Medieval Russian Culture*, ed. H. Birnbaum and M.S. Flier (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1984), 144–5, 155–6.

[112] Nicol, *Church and Society*, 104–5; Mango, *Byzantium*, 213.

was widely shared is touchingly illustrated by a manuscript note of the year 1462–3 recording the transfer of several books to the monastery of St John the Baptist at Petra in Constantinople from a monastery in Selymbria, which, as we can deduce fom other evidence, had just been turned into a mosque. 'This book is the property of the monastery of the *megas doux* in Selymbria, and I have given it to the monastery of the Prodromos that they may read the commemorations of the saints. But when God's mercy comes to all Creation, may this book be returned, along with all the others, to the monastery in Selymbria, that is of the *megas doux*'. Interesting here is the clear assumption that 'God's mercy' will restore desecrated churches to Christian worship, even to the extent of returning their lost possessions.[113]

In the foregoing, I have tried to look at Byzantine history not from the perspective of either medieval or modern hindsight, but with what I understand, from the available evidence, to have been the conventional foresight with which Byzantines contemplated their future. I have tried, very superficially, to follow the thread of prophecy which runs through both imperial policy and imperial propaganda, and is as difficult to extricate from either as they are difficult to separate from each other. In so doing, I hope to have made three contributions to our understanding of Byzantium. First, I would hope to have demonstrated that a whole complex of attitudes and institutions which we regard as typically, indeed quintessentially, Byzantine, were causally related to concrete, time- and place-specific expectations of Christ's Second Coming. In particular, it seems to me, the turning point of the mid sixth century cannot be understood without reference to eschatology. Second, I hope it has emerged that our periodization of Byzantine history can usefully take account of Byzantine eschatological projections. For it is a fact that the lifespan of the Byzantine empire as an entity distinct from the Later Roman Empire corresponds more or less to the seventh millennium in the Byzantine scheme of world history; that within this period, the great 'imperial centuries' correspond to the first half of the millennium; and that within these first five centuries, the critical moment for the empire's self-confidence and internal cohesion – the Iconoclast crisis – came at a time of ideological adjustment to the realization that the countdown to the Last Things was still far off. Third, I hope to have confirmed the proposition from which I started, namely, that the other schemes through which Divine Providence was conceived as acting for the good of creation were always subordinated to the eschatological scheme, even where this is not explicit. In other words, cycles of imperial decline and renewal, or of divine punishment and reward, were not perceived as corresponding to a *primarily* cyclical pattern of history, but rather as twists in a progressive spiral, in which present events of cosmic significance, whether disastrous or triumphal, were always liable to be seen as the last in the series.

[113] P. Magdalino, 'Byzantine Churches of Selymbria', *DOP* 32 (1978), 314.

I would like to think that the main criticism I have laid myself open to is that of stating the obvious. But to judge from the silence of modern scholarship on this subject, I suspect that I am more likely to be charged with exercising my imagination at the expense of the evidence. For it can reasonably be objected that most of the evidence I have cited is indirect, and that what direct evidence there is hardly supports my theory of an optimistic official eschatology. In so far as Byzantine eschatological literature offers a precise and coherent vision of the Last Things, that vision is deeply pessimistic about the empire. As we have seen, commentators on the Apocalypse of St John readily identified Constantinople with Babylon the Great. Byzantine apocalypses, far from predicting a smooth transition from the New Jerusalem to the Heavenly Jerusalem, emphasize the rupture between the end of the Roman Empire and the coming of Christ's Kingdom, and sometimes take a positive delight in describing the horrible catastrophes that will destroy Constantinople, churches and all. But on the whole, Byzantine eschatology does not present a coherent prophetic vision. Its different strands are never united and its different opinions are never resolved. In exegetical tradition, the Book of Revelation never quite makes it into the scriptural canon, and the idea that the Roman Empire lies outside Daniel's succession of Four Kingdoms never supersedes the traditional view of it as the fourth, Iron Kingdom.[114] In the purely prophetic literature, there is a basic lack of cross-reference between the chronological treatises, on the one hand, and the apocalyptic/Sibylline texts on the other. As Sir Richard Southern has said of the latter in a Western context, 'they always promised more than they ever delivered'.[115] They delivered, and indeed were normally consulted, not on eschatology but on more mundane matters, such as the imperial succession. Such texts are dateable only by their *vaticinia ex eventu*, and by their obvious use of earlier material. For the rest, they are as timeless as fiction, and give the distinct impression that the importance of their tale lies in the telling. Is it not revealing that the most widely diffused Byzantine apocalypse is contained in a work which has been variously characterized as a hagiographical romance or a hagiographical encyclopaedia, where it is put into the mouth of a saint who supposedly lived in the fifth century, by an author who covers his own chronological tracks so well that leading Byzantinists can argue whether he lived in the seventh century or in the tenth?[116] Correspondingly, it is hard to avoid the impression that some of the more highbrow eschatologists were more interested in their own present than in the future of mankind. The words 'Antichrist' or 'forerunner of Antichrist' came all too easily

[114] See especially John Zonaras (*CSHB*), 212–14, 226–8.

[115] R.W. Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 3. History as Prophecy', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (1972), 167.

[116] Mango, 'The Life' (see above, n.72); L. Rydén; 'The Life of St Basil the Younger and the Date of the Life of St Andreas Salos', *Okeanos* (see above, n.41), 568–86.

to monastic writers with a dogmatic axe to grind.[117] As already noted, Arethas of Caesarea in his commentary on Revelation, and Niketas the Paphlagonian in his treatises on the end of the world, come alive mainly when they are railing against social corruption. These works are all the more disappointing in that they are the only surviving eschatological writings by leading Byzantine churchmen. It is worrying that the writers whose opinions we value are silent, non-committal, or frankly dismissive in their attitude to prophetic speculation.[118] Above all, it is worrying that Byzantium never produced a Joachim da Fiore – an intellectual who earned the respect of world leaders in his own day, and still impresses us by his ability to combine prophetic inspiration with theological and computational expertise and a fairly sophisticated sense of historical development.[119]

In anticipation of such objections, I begin by making the general point that it requires a fairly massive effort of imagination to enter into a mentality for which the future was in some ways much more predictable and circumscribed, but in other ways more uncertain and indefinable than it is for us; a mentality for which, moreover, prophecy was not science fiction, but science. We have to think ourselves across an ever-moving prophetic frontier to which our sources always look forward, and never look back, even when they are writing about a former frontier zone. Specifically where Byzantium is concerned, I make three related observations. First, the Apocalyptic and Sibylline literature was closely related in style and in mentality to the patriographic tradition of lore and legend about the origins and the monuments, particularly the statues, of Constantinople. This tradition was, as Dagron has recently shown, consistently subversive of the imperial ideal.[120] Just as the *Parastaseis*, the *Diegesis of Hagia Sophia*, and the *Patria* give us the reverse image of the Constantine, the Justinian and the Constantinople of court panegyric, so, I would argue, the popular prophecies in their pessimism balance out the optimistic official eschatology which I have postulated. What I am postulating is not a static and monolithic idea, nor even two mutually exclusive alternatives, but a fluid spectrum of variation on the theme that Constantinople will endure until the end of the world. Second, the lack of cross-reference between different strands of eschatological literature has a lot to do with Byzantine respect for the autonomy of literary genres, which imposed a strict structural relationship between medium and message, and ensured that hybrids, like mules, did not reproduce. Byzantine eschatology is the sum, and not the synthesis, of its parts. This brings us to our third point. The lack of a systematic eschatological

[117] E.g. Anastasios Sinaites, *Viae dux*, ed. K. Utheman (Turnhout, 1981), 96, 107, 114, 318; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 400, 407.

[118] E.g.: Photios, *Bibliotheca*, 202, ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1959–67), III, 101–2; Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 95; Tzetzes (above, n.106); Michael Choniates (above, n.108).

[119] Southern, 'History as Prophecy', 176; McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 126ff.

[120] Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire, passim*.

synthesis *à la* Joachim is only one aspect of a Byzantine failure, or reluctance, to systematize religious belief, or rather to articulate the largely implicit system of belief that had been worked out by the seventh century. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, while the Western Church was producing not only a highly structured eschatology, but also perfecting its theory of the afterlife, its persecution of religious deviance, and its theory of holy war, these developments were conspicuous by their absence in the East. This does not mean that they were utterly foreign to Byzantium, but rather that they followed a different rhythm: they had become adequate for Byzantine purposes at an earlier date.

In most cases, indeed, they were more than adequate. When we are evaluating Byzantine eschatology, it is important to distinguish between its dynamic phase in the sixth and seventh centuries and its later, derivative phases. In a word, Byzantium never really got over the fact that the world did not end with the Arab conquests. Until Iconoclasm, the signs of approaching cosmic fulfilment were sufficiently compelling to convince all Byzantines that the end was at hand and that the empire was preparing the way – although opinions might differ as to what this meant in practice. But in the eighth century, the spell was broken, and although it was recast with regard to the middle of the seventh millennium, it never recovered all its old magic. The world had changed in many respects. Among other things, Jerusalem was in infidel hands, which meant that the world could not end before the Last Emperor went there. Constantinople thus lost something of its eschatological potential as a New Jerusalem; and Byzantine emperors, by not recapturing Jerusalem, effectively postponed the End indefinitely. From 800, moreover, the Byzantine emperor was not the only Roman emperor, and his eschatological projections had therefore to take account of those being advanced on behalf of his Western imperial rivals. There is a case for thinking that the middle Byzantine emperors who attracted, or cultivated, apocalyptic speculation were looking over their shoulders at the West. And in this one can perhaps discern a deepening gulf – which, I have already suggested, has its origins in the early eighth century – between imperial propaganda, which fed on apocalyptic tension, and the Church, which took a more apophatic or long-term view of the situation.

The traditional *Reichseschatologie* took a further knocking as the year 6500 turned out to have been a non-event, and the empire's long decline in relation to the Christian West progressively undermined the premise on which all Byzantine projections, whether optimistic or pessimistic, were based, namely the idea that the survival of the world was tied to the survival of Constantinople and the Roman Empire. As early as the 1080s, some Byzantines were suggesting that God was only interested in men's souls, and their political affairs were a matter of fortune.[121] In 1096–7, Philip Monotropos wrote a verse treatise on the end of the world in which he argued the futility of speculation about the

[121] P. Gautier, 'Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène', *REB* 28 (1970), 21–3.

exact date.[122] Two centuries later, Theodore Metochites came close to suggesting that the empire was only one, and not necessarily the last, in a series of ephemeral world powers.[123] Thinking men in the last centuries of Byzantium were obviously well aware that imperial eschatology, if not Christian eschatology, no longer fitted the facts. From the eleventh century, the discreet silence of intellectuals on eschatological matters probably does reflect growing scepticism or indifference.

And yet, as we have seen, the traditional eschatology was alive and well in 1453. To see this in terms of a sterile, obstinate, myopic attachment to obsolete forms, is, I think, to miss the whole point of the prophetic tradition: its enduring serviceability. Like Eastern Orthodoxy in general, the Byzantine vision of the future survived without a major crisis of conscience because it did not over-systematize, by attempting to iron out contradictions or push definitions to their logical conclusion. Its ancient, rambling, crumbling structure was maintained because it was satisfying to live in, as a repository of materials that could be stored for use and re-use, or just quietly ignored. The Byzantines approached their future, as they approached their past, by combining an absolute reverence for orthodox tradition with an absolute flexibility in the way they handled it. The history of Leo the Deacon gives us two valuable insights into the way their minds worked. In his preface, as we have seen, Leo says that he is recording the momentous events of his own time because they might be portents of the End, but just in case they are not, they will be an edifying lesson to posterity.[124] We see here how Byzantines hedged their bets with regard to apocalyptic phenomena which might turn out not to be apocalyptic: these were invested with both prophetic and historical significance. If they did not fit the eschatological scheme of Divine Providence, they could easily be switched to the scheme of providential chastisement. In a later passage of his history, Leo discusses the significance of a comet that appeared in July 975. The emperor at the time consulted two eminently respectable experts, a leading civil official and a leading churchman, who, says Leo, told the emperor what he wanted to hear, namely that the comet promised him a long life and victories over his enemies. Leo was able to point out from hindsight that they were wrong, that the sign portended rebellions, invasions, civil wars, forced transfers of population, famines, plagues, frightful earthquakes, and the near destruction of the empire.[125] But it is clear that the phenomenon was open to two equally 'orthodox' interpretations – one optimistic and flattering, and one pessimistic and unflattering. In the circumstances, the experts opted for the former explanation. Who can blame them, and who can doubt that they were in a long and distinguished tradition?

[122] Podskalsky, *Reichseschatologie*, 98–9.

[123] Nicol, *Church and Society*, 105–6.

[124] Leo Diaconus (*CSHB*), 4.

[125] *CSHB* 168–9.

The Byzantine history of the future was all things to all men, and this is why we should not ignore it in studying the Byzantine past. It would certainly be a distortion to register every episode in that past as a tick or a chime in an eschatological clock. But it is equally distorting to close our ears deliberately to the eschatological echoes of words and actions produced in a climate of genuine uncertainty about the future. We are studying a culture where language was more easily made pregnant with meaning than delivered of it. The danger is always of reading too little into the sources rather than too much. The danger is particularly great when we are dealing with evidence like icons, hymns, and liturgical commentaries, where it is the timeless anonymous statements which have come to prevail at the expense of all personal, time- and place-specific intentions. We do no violence to the enduring spiritual message of Byzantine images of heaven if we see them as the products of anxious preoccupation with the here and now. Indeed, as historians we can appreciate their eternal quality much better when we see them against a background of consciousness that time was running out, not just for the present generation of mortal men, but for mankind in general.

Postscript

Since this article was written in 1988 the bibliography on Byzantine eschatology and related issues has grown to an extent which precludes proper treatment here. I draw attention to some of the main titles simply to underline my point that serious investigation of the subject is only just beginning.

General: A. Pertusi, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo. Significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Constantinopoli in oriente e in occidente*, ed. R. Morini (Rome, 1988); W. Brandes, 'Die apokalyptische Literatur', *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert)*, ed. F. Winkelmann and W. Brandes, *BBA 55* (Berlin, 1990), 305–22, 368–70.

The cosmic week: A. Sharf, 'The Eighth Day of the Week', *Καθηγήτρια. Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday*, ed J. Chrysostomides (London, 1988), 27–50; G. Podskalsky, 'Ruhestand oder Vollendung? Zur Symbolik des achten Tages in der griechisch-byzantinischen Theologie', *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing and D. Simon (Munich, 1990), 157–66, 216–9.

Patristic background: Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge, 1991).

Sixth and seventh centuries: S. Ashbrook Harvey, 'Remembering Pain: Syriac Historiography and the Separation of the Churches', *Byz* 58 (1988), 295–308; O. Nicholson, 'Golden Age and the End of the World: Myths of Mediterranean Life from Lactantius to Joshua the Stylite', *The Medieval Mediterranean, Cross-Cultural Contacts*, ed. Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Reyerson, Medieval Studies at Minnesota 3 (St Cloud, Minnesota, 1989), 11–18.

Late sixth and seventh centuries: M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian* (Oxford, 1988), 111, 240–1; J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 367–9; G. Dagron, 'Juifs et chrétiens dans l'Orient au VIIe siècle', *TM* 11 (1991), 17–248, esp. 28–43; various contributions to *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I. Problems in the Literary Source Material*, ed. Averil Cameron and L. I. Conrad (Princeton, 1992).

Further evidence of eschatological expectation in the late tenth/early eleventh century has been pointed out by L. Rydén, 'The date of the Life of St Niphon, *BHG* 1371z', *Greek and Latin Studies in Memory of Cajus Fabricius*, ed. S.-T. Teodorsson (Gothenburg, 1990), 36–7.

The West: *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, ed. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, A. Welkenhuysen (Louvain, 1988); J. Fried, 'Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 45 (1989), 381–473.

2

Some historiographical observations on the sources of Nestor-Iskander's *The Tale of Constantinople*

Walter K. Hanak

The combination of a number of syncretic elements to produce an historical account is rare among original source materials. And the fusion of annalistic and personal observations with the apocalyptic and the prophetic is all the more special to Byzantine historiography. Such a blending of disparate elements appears in *The Tale of Constantinople* (*Of Its Origin and Conquest by the Turks in 1453*),[1] which survives as a distinctive and invaluable source for the final siege of Constantinople. Composed most probably between 1481 and 1485,[2] by one Nestor-Iskander (or correctly Nestor-Iskinder),[3] a White Russian from the region of Pskov,[4] of whom little is known aside for a brief *vita*[5] which he appended to the *Tale* and some personal vignettes which can be gleaned from this account, the work stands alone among the few eye-witness descriptions

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This paper revises and expands upon my paper, 'The Old Church Slavonic Sources of Nestor-Iskander's *The Tale of Constantinople* and the Formulation of a Muscovite Political–Religious Ideology,' delivered at The 17th International Byzantine Congress, Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 3–8 August 1986.

[1] The extracts from the text cited here are taken from the published version of the Troitse-Sergievaia Lavra MS No. 773, titled *Povest' o tsar'grade (O sozdanii ego i vziatii Turkami v 1453 godu)*, in Archimandrite Leonid, ed., *Povest' o Tsar'grade (ego osnovanii vziatii Turkami v 1453 goda), Nestora Iskandera XV veku*, Pamiatniki druzei pis'menosti i iskusstva (St Petersburg, 1886). This edition remains the only authoritative text in Old Church Slavic/Middle Russian. For a complete bibliography and critical discussion of the printed versions of the *Tale*, see W. K. Hanak and M. Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander, The Tale of Constantinople (Of Its Origin and Capture by the Turks in the Year 1453). The Troitse-Sergievaia Lavra MS No. 773*, Late Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 5 (New Rochelle, 1992).

[2] For an explanation of this suggested date of composition, see below, pp. 44–5.

[3] The original MS reads Nestor-Iskinder, the latter a Turkicized form, but Leonid and other Russian textual editors altered Iskinder to read Iskander, a Slavicized version, meaning Alexander.

[4] The diary portion exclusively contains a number of dialectical terms which identify Nestor-Iskander as a White Russian from the region of Pskov. Terms such as *gufa* = *oufy* (pride), *nepriemnyj* (disagreeable), and *inaftyi* (those boys) support this conclusion. See esp. B. Unbegaun, 'Les relations vieux-russes de la prise de Constantinople,' *Revue des Etudes Slaves* 9 (1929), 19–20; P. D. Pogodin, 'Obzor istochnikov po istorii osady i vziatiia Vizantii Turkami v 1453 godu', *ZMNP* 264.8 (1889), 247 f.

[5] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 43; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 89.

of the fall. His composition has at its core his personal diary which he maintained as a young lad in the city and in which he recorded the daily events, the tragedies suffered by the inhabitants of the city, the lamentations of the clergy upon the sinfulness of the Constantinopolitans and their consequent chastisement – their most severe sin being the acceptance of the Florentine ecclesiastical union – and the roles of leading nobles and others during the struggle for the fate of the city. Nestor-Iskander has preserved these last moments in a clear and forceful style. But more important to this discussion are the parts which he added to his record of events. The diary is preceded by an extensive annalistic discussion coupled with mantic extracts, and concludes with a substantial apocalyptic and prophetic treatment. Two main themes are developed in the *Tale*. The first, which is central to this paper, is drawn upon a popular adage or prophecy, as Nestor-Iskander would have us believe, and states: 'A Constantine created it [the city of Constantinople] and once again a Constantine ended it.'[6] His second theme, often restated in the diary portion, stresses the sinfulness – the pro-Uniate proclivities – of the Constantinopolitans, and the resultant suffering, the fighting, slaughter, and excessive carnage, as retribution for their sinfulness.

To expound upon the popular adage that 'a Constantine created it,' Nestor-Iskander borrowed extensively from the universal chronicle of George the Monk (Georgios Hamartolos), a ninth-century Byzantine annalist whose work was especially popular and often cited by Slavic chroniclers.[7] He borrowed from the Slavonic rendition of George the Monk three parts: a description of the recognition of Christianity, the enactment of Constantinian laws, and the foundation legend of Constantinople.[8] Nestor-Iskander did, however, attempt from the outset of his work to emend and to interpolate these sections. But the first part is essentially a paraphrase, the second explanatory, and the third a substantial revision. The first reads as follows:[9]

> In the year 5803 [295], Constantine Flavius the Great reigned in Rome. Aided by God, he gathered with great care exiled Christians from everywhere. He began to strengthen and to enlarge the Christian faith, to beautify the churches of God, to raise other magnificent churches, and to smash the idols and to transform their houses [pagan temples] to the glory of God.

[6] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 37; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 77. This proverbial statement appears in other accounts as well. For example, cf. the letter of Cardinal Isidore to Pasio di Bertipaglia in A. Pertusi, *La Caduta di Constantinopoli*, I (Verona, 1976), 60.

[7] Georgios Hamartolos, *Knigy vremen'nyja i obraznyja Georgija Mnixa. Khronika Georgija Amartola v drevnem slavjanorusskom perevode. Tekst, issledovanie i slovar*, ed. V. M. Istrin (Petrograd, 1920). The popularity of the chronicle of George the Monk among Slavic annalists is no more evident than its extensive citation in the *Russian Primary Chronicle. The Povest' vremennykh let'* or *The Tale of Bygone Years*. Cf. *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, 1 (St Petersburg, 1841), and its subsequent editions, and *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, eds S.H. Cross and O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), esp. 16, 23–5, and 57.

[8] Georgios Hamartolos, *Khronika*, 333–4.

[9] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 1; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 1.

While no further elaboration is required upon the above, careful scrutiny of the laws cited in the *Tale* and the chronicle of George the Monk demonstrates a close affinity. Though Nestor-Iskander made some elaborations and minor revisions, these are with but one exception of no great consequence. The alterations were not intended to lend a new interpretation of the intent of the laws. But perhaps reflecting upon the plight of the city and its Christian population following the fall of the urban centre, Nestor-Iskander did modify the law in George the Monk's work which reads: 'His [Christ's?] image will be inscribed on a gold coin and will be spent,'[10] to 'His [Christ's?] image will be inscribed on a gold coin.'[11] Through the deletion of the last phrase Nestor-Iskander may well have intended that coins bearing the image of Christ should not be spent; rather, they should be retained by its possessor to help preserve the memory of Christ and the Christian religion under Muslim rule.

To the foundation legend of Constantinople Nestor-Iskander added essential details which are not original to the chronicle of George the Monk. A comparison in part reveals substantial emendation.

Nestor-Iskander

In the thirteenth year of his reign, convinced through the counsels of God, he desired to found a city in his [own] name. He sent worthy men into Asia, and into Libya,[12] and into Europe for [the study of] the relief and the discovery of a magnificent and notable place for the construction of such a city. When they returned, they related to the emperor about the different magnificent places, but they praised most Macedonia and Byzantium to him. In his mind he favored the Troad, where there had been a world-wide war by the Greeks against the Franks [sic].[13] As the emperor considered this [matter] day and night, he heard a voice in [his] sleep: 'It is fitting to build Constantinople in Byzantium.'

George the Monk

And then Constantine the Great desired to found a city in his name on the western side. He was enjoined in his sleep to build it in Byzantium.

[10] Georgios Hamartolos, *Khronika*, 334.

[11] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 1; and Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 1. The image of Christ was imprinted on coins at a late date, during the reign of Justin II. Nestor-Iskander may not be referring here to a monetary unit, but perhaps a religious emblem.

[12] Libya is the common Byzantine expression for Africa.

[13] Nestor-Iskander has here confused the *Franks* and the *Phrygians* of Trojan War fame. He appears to have incorrectly assumed that they were one and the same, although later in the *Tale* his identification of the Franks is correct.

...Having left as caesars in Rome [his] two sons Constans and Constantine, and [having sent] his nephew Adamantius[14] to Britain, the emperor himself set out with his mother Helena for Byzantium. He took with him also his wife Maximina,[15] daughter of the emperor Diocletian, and his son Constantine, his brother-in-law, Licinius, and his two brothers Delmatius and Constantine,[16] and Delmatius's son Dalmatius,[17] and Constantine's[18] two sons Gallus and Julian ... the emperor built the Great Palata,[19] put together the two parts[20] of the wondrous Hippodrome ...

In the second year of his reign he made Constans and Constantine Caesars, and Dalmatius, his nephew, [Caesar] in Britain and relinquished to him the western regions. He came to Byzantium with his mother Helena and the son Constantine and Licinius, his brother- in-law, for his sister came with him. And he restored the city of Byzantium, of old founded by Vizaz [= Bizas],[21] the emperor of Thrace. A wall was erected, and an arena was enclosed as one. Constantine named the city....He built the [Great] Palata and the Hippodrome...

It is certain that Nestor-Iskander was acquainted with the popular chronicle of George the Monk; he appears also to be familiar with the chronicle of John Malalas which had earlier been translated into Old Church Slavic from a lost Greek text.[22] Like Malalas, Nestor-Iskander notes the edifices constructed by Constantine the Great in Constantinople and discusses in substantial detail the marvellous column of porphyry which the emperor had brought from Ilion, 'the City of the Sun', in Phrygia. Atop the column the emperor set a statue of himself with seven rays upon its head.[23] Malalas relates further that Constantine secretly removed from Rome 'a wooden statue' known as the Palladion and placed it beneath the column supporting his statue. Nestor-Iskander was

[14] The confusion of names and personages is not uncommon in this text. Adamantius remains unidentified, although Nestor-Iskander could have confused him with the Adamantius who is associated with the *Dialogus de recta in Deum fide*. Cf. *PG* 4.11. Further, the *Voskresenskaja Letopis'*, *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, 8, 126, substitutes Delmatius for Adamantius.

[15] This is certainly an error. Maximina was not the wife of Constantine the Great, nor was she the daughter of Diocletian; correctly this should read Fausta.

[16] Constantine should read Constantius.

[17] We know little of him, while his father Delmatius is cited more often in the sources.

[18] I.e., Constantius.

[19] The Imperial Palace.

[20] The porticoes.

[21] Vizaz = Bizas is the legendary founder of Byzantium. Regarding Bizas and the mythology on him, cf. Hesychius, *Hesychii Illustri originum constantinopolitanae*, in *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. Preger, I (Leipzig, 1901).

[22] For a discussion of the 18 books of the *Khronika Ioanna Malaly v slavianskom perevode*, ed. V.M. Istrin (St Petersburg, 1897–1914), cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I (Berlin, 1958), 331; and further *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, tr. Elizabeth and M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott (Melbourne, 1986), xxi ff.

[23] This is the antique statue of Apollo with the head of Constantine the Great; cf. Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 7.

aware of this account about the Palladion, but altered some details and their significance. Thus he wrote: 'And the sacred wood and holy relics were the support and safe preservation of the wondrous and monolithic column'. The wooden Palladion could not be interpreted as sacred other than in a pagan context and the further qualification that holy relics were inserted in the base of the column implies that Nestor-Iskander believed that a piece of the cross of Christ was placed beneath the column of porphyry.[24]

On the other hand, Nestor-Iskander appears to be unfamiliar with or to have ignored the annals of Symeon Logothetes and Metaphrastes, of Constantine Manasses, and of John Zonaras, among others. These annals were available to him in either Greek or Old Church Slavic,[25] and he could have utilized either version, but his *Tale* offers no evidence of this. Their annals were not of particular significance to Nestor-Iskander in the compilation of his *Tale*, except for the fact that they would have assisted him either to supplement or to correct the historical inaccuracies common both to the chronicles of George the Monk and of John Malalas. This is in particular true of the foundation legend where a list of individuals of distinction is included, but which apparently was supplemented with another literary tradition as yet not fully identified. A case in point: is Nestor-Iskander correct in distinguishing between Adamantius of Britain and Delmatius, who is also identified with Britain, or has Nestor-Iskander misread George the Monk when the latter relates: 'In the second year of his reign he made Constans and Constantine, Caesars, and Dalmatius, his nephew [Caesar] in Britain and relinquished to him the western regions'? Of the Byzantine annals rendered into Old Church Slavic, none provide a clue, and none of the extant texts in Greek clarifies the question. George the Monk speaks of the son Dalmatius or Delmatius, whose father of the same name was the unambitious brother of Constantine the Great. Similarly, Theophanes' *Chronographia* and the *Chronicon Paschale* write only of Dalmatius, the brother of the emperor, but not in the words of Nestor-Iskander.[26] That Nestor-Iskander had emended or confused (or both) this account of distinctive personages is most reasonable to conclude.

Nestor-Iskander added to the foundation legend an elaborate account of a conflict between an eagle and a snake.[27] The event, we are told, was personally observed by Constantine the Great at the moment he was inspecting Byzantium as the site for his new capital. The theme, a conflict between an eagle and a snake, is a commonplace in classical, Byzantine, and Slavic literature, and this

[24] On this, cf. Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par 7.

[25] Cf. V.I. Sreznevskii, *Slavjanskij perevod khroniki Simeon Logotheta* (London, 1971), 41; Joan Bogdan (ed.), *Die slavische Manasses-Chronik* (Munich, 1966), 93–94; and Angelica Jacobs (ed.), *Ζοναρᾶς-Zonara* (Munich, 1970), 106 ff.

[26] Theophanis, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB*, I (Bonn, 1839), 43.11, who notes that Dalmatius was named caesar in 325; cf. 46.14–18 and 53.7–8. Cf. the *Chronicon Paschale*, in *PG* 92.277D–278A.

[27] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 3; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 4.

borrowing should not be identified with any one specific source. Nestor-Iskander did produce an embellished version, adding material from the prophetic books of the Old Testament which were known to the Kievan Rus' as the *Paleja*,[28] a term derived from the Greek παλαιά. The *Paleja*, an abridgement of Old Testament history, was in the tenth and eleventh centuries supplemented by Slavic writers with the addition of materials from apocryphal and other explanatory materials to demonstrate their hostility toward the Jews and the Muslims alike. That Nestor-Iskander would utilize a work belonging to the genre of propaganda is not surprising, for throughout his *Tale* he proved quite adept in his denunciation of Islam and the Muslims, repeatedly prefacing his references to the Turkish sultan Mehmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, and the Islamic faith with derogatory qualifiers.

Abandoning historical and chronological accuracy, Nestor-Iskander had the learned men interpolate the tale of the struggle between the eagle and the snake to signify a conflict between Christianity and Islam. Thus ' ... the eagle is a sign of Christianity and the snake is a sign of the non-Orthodox. Since the snake overpowered the eagle, it reads how Mohammedanism will overwhelm Christianity. But since the Christians killed the snake and captured the eagle, it reveals how again in the end Christianity will overpower Mohammedanism and will receive the Seven Hills and in it will be king'.[29] To this legend Nestor-Iskander added: 'Even though Constantine the Great was filled with great indignation over this, he nevertheless expressed the wish to inscribe their words'.[30] Nestor-Iskander seems to be acquainted with the late tenth–early eleventh century *Patria* of Constantinople,[31] in which notations are made of the monuments with inscriptions of the future of the city and prognostications regarding the last days of the city. He appears as well to be familiar, if only selectively, with mantic books which were composed from the thirteenth century down to 1453. Two contemporary Soviet scholars, G.P. Bel'chenko and N.A. Smirnov,[32] have conjectured that Nestor-Iskander borrowed the account of the struggle between the eagle and the snake from the chronicle of George the Monk. George the Monk does narrate a story about a snake, but only in the context of Constantine the Great imploring Pope Sylvester I to cure him of leprosy. Rid of his illness, George the Monk relates that the emperor resigned his crown and the empire to the pope. There are close parallels between the account of George the Monk and that which was incorporated

[28] Cf. M. Weingart, *Byzanské kroniky v literatuře církevneslovanské* (Bratislava, 1922), 18–31.

[29] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 3; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par 4.

[30] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 3; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par 4.

[31] Cf. the *Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, II, 136 ff.

[32] G. P. Bel'chenko, 'K voprosy o sostave istoricheskoi povesti o vziatii Tsar'grada,' in *Sbornik statei k sorokaletiiu deiatel'nosti Akademika A. S. Orlova* (Leningrad, 1934), 513; and N.A. Smirnov, 'Istoricheskoe znachenie russkoi "Povesti" Nestora Iskandera o vziatii Turkami konstantinopolia v 1453 g.', *VV* 7 (1953), 56.

into a famous forgery of the eighth century, the *Donation of Constantine*.[33] In the Old Slavonic translation of John Zonaras,[34] there also appears an account of a large eagle descending from Heaven and settling on the site of Byzantium. Zonaras sought to lend credence to the notion of divine intercession in the selection of the location for the city of Constantinople, but no reference is made to a snake challenging the eagle for supremacy.

In the close of his diary Nestor-Iskander records how Constantine XI entered the *Golden Gate*[35] and there with no further elaboration met his end. Nestor-Iskander relates: 'And so the Orthodox Emperor Constantine suffered for the church of God and for the true faith in the month of May on the twenty-ninth day ... And the prophecy came to pass: "A Constantine created it and once again a Constantine ended it." '[36] But Nestor-Iskander did not simply end his account with this conclusion. Rather, in a controversial and dramatic tone he set out to interpret the meaning and the consequences of this conquest and to foretell in his own words the future of Constantinople. He first declared that all of the events that had transpired were foretold to Bishop Methodios of Patara (Pseudo-Methodios)[37] and the Byzantine emperor Leo VI the Wise.[38] To dramatize his understanding of their prognostications, he paraphrased their main ideas to read as one:

> The fair [ones] are a race who with former creations will vanquish all of the Ishmaelites and will inherit the Seven Hills and will hold it firmly. The sixth and fifth nation, they will plant in it herb, and they will consume from it much in holy vengeance.

Through a modification of the predictions of the past, Nestor-Iskander sought to probe the mysteries of the future of Constantinople. His chief concern was the holy city, not the empire which he little understood. In essence, he rewrote, revised, and augmented the works attributed to Methodios and Leo VI, and

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[33] Regarding Pope Sylvester and the *Donation of Constantine*, an extensive discussion appears in George the Monk, book 4, *PG* 110.395–8.

[34] See above n. 25 for the Zonaras citation and esp.114–115.

[35] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 36–7; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 77.

[36] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 37; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par 77.

[37] On Methodios of Patara see the definitive though somewhat dated study of V. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago i Apokrificheskiia videniia Daniila v vizantiiskoi i slaviano-russkoi literaturakh* (Moscow, 1897), passim; and more recent the works of A. Lolos, *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976); idem, *Die dritte und vierte Redaktion des Ps.-Methodios* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978); and especially P. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985), 13 ff. for the Syriac Pseudo-Methodios and 52 ff. for the first Greek redaction of Pseudo-Methodios.

[38] Nestor-Iskander may have only had access to the Greek texts of the Leontine Oracles. They were partially known to the Slavs in the fifteenth century. Cf. Kh. Loparev, *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik* 17 (1899), lxxxiii; and further *PG* 107.1129–50; and Iu. A. Iavorskii, 'Vizantiiskiia skazaniia o L've Premudrom, v russkikh spiskakh XVII–XVIII vekov', *Izvestiia Otdeleniia Russkago Iazyka i Slovesnosti*, St Petersburg, 14 (1909), 55–84. The text which follows is from Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 40–41; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, pars 85–6.

perhaps more significantly he conflated their key notions into one paragraph, making clear attribution most difficult and almost indiscernible. Nestor-Iskander's interest in and reference to Methodios is not surprising. The writings attributed to the bishop had commented on the Antichrist, a theme later popular in the literature of the Kievan Rus' and the Muscovite Russians. The educated Methodios, an early fourth-century Church Father, exerted a strong influence in his opposition to the teachings of Origen, perceived as a proponent of the notion that Jesus as a created being is secondary and subordinate to the Father. Methodios was thus identified as an advocate of doctrinal orthodoxy – a position which had much appeal to Nestor-Iskander. He in effect turned to Methodios to explain the theological disputes of his own age, specifically the pro-Uniate controversy and the role of Constantine XI in his advocacy of it.

On the other hand, the prophecies of Leo VI, known also as the Philosopher should be treated with circumspection. Cyril Mango argues, and perhaps quite correctly, that there exists a confusion of identifications – the existence of two individuals called Leo that became in time merged as one.[39] The emperor Leo VI became inextricably linked with the former bishop of Thessaloniki who had in that role developed profound skills in astronomy and mathematics which lent themselves well to establish his credentials as a prognosticator. Nestor-Iskander without question accepted the authenticity of the Leontine oracles without making any distinction between the two Leos.

The passage attributed to Methodios of Patara and Leo VI is important in one respect. The claim is made that Constantinople in the end, without the ascription of a specific date, would be liberated by the *fair* [*ones*] [*russii*] and that they would rule in it after vanquishing the Muslims.[40] Inadvertently, Nestor-Iskander provided Muscovite annalists with a basis for their political–religious notion of Moscow as the Third Rome; they emended *russii* to read *ruskii*, that is Russians.[41] A similar emendation appears later in the published text of Nestor- Iskander. Initially the *Tale* was appended to the *Voskresenskaja Lietopis'* without alteration,[42] but later annalists, aside from orthographical changes, included the *Tale* in the main body of their chronicles and corrected the term to read *ruskii*.[43]

[39] C. Mango, 'The Legend of Leo the Wise', *ZRVI* 65 (1960), 59–93, reprinted in *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984) XVI, esp. 68–73.

[40] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 40; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 86. Cf. D. Stremooukhoff, 'Moscow the Third Rome: Sources of the Doctrine', *Speculum* 28 (1953), 89 and n. 31; also Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 70, 49.

[41] A vast literature exists on this topic. See variously Stremooukhoff for the sources.

[42] *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, 8, 128–44.

[43] Ibid. Cf. I. Dujčev, 'La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave contemporaine,' *BSl* 17 (1956), 280–3; H. Schraeder, *Moskau das dritte Rom. Studien zur Geschichte der politischen Theorien in der slavischen Welt* (Hamburg, 1929); R.L. Wolff, 'The Three Romes: The Migration of an Ideology and the Making of an Autocrat', *Myth and Mythmaking*, ed. H.A. Murray (Boston, 1968), 174–98.

More problematic and difficult to ascertain is the authorship of *The Visions of Daniel.* The text in the *Tale* reads as follows:[44]

> And the great Philip will rise again with the eighty nations, and will gather in the Seven Hills and they will fight a battle like which there had never been, and streams of human blood will flow over the valleys and streets of the Seven Hills, and the sea will be disturbed by the blood as far as the mouth of the strait. Then Vovus will cry out and Skerolaf will begin to weep and Starofin[45] will speak: 'Arise, arise, the world is yours, and vengeance upon the disbelievers! Go to the right[46] area of the Seven Hills and turn men to the two existing thrones; sitting with justice and mercy, supporting the poor, with a determined look, with reason and kindness, of average stature, accept him and crown [him] emperor!' And four vivifying angels will take and will lead him into Hagia Sophia, and will crown him emperor and will give him in the right hand the sword, saying to him: 'Take courage and vanquish your foe!' And receiving the sword from that angel, strike the Ishmaelites, and Ethiopians, the Phrygians and Tartars, and every race. And so the Ishmaelites will divide into three: the first part will be conquered with swords, the second will be baptized, and the third will be driven away with great vehemence as far as One Oak. The earthly treasure will reveal itself upon his return and all will be enriched and no one will be needy, and the earth will bear its fruit sevenfold. The swords of war will create the crescent, and will reign thirty-two years. And after this one another will rise up against him. And thus having foreseen his death, he will go to Jerusalem in order to commit his kingdom to God, and thenceforth his four sons will be enthroned: the first in Rome, but the second in Alexandria, the third in Seven Hills, the fourth in Saloniki.

Nestor-Iskander does not distinguish between Daniel the Prophet of the Old Testament whose vogue had wide currency in Byzantium, and the fifth-century St Daniel the Stylite.[47] The *Book of Daniel,* a product of the second century B.C., foretold the Maccabean victory over Syria at a time of great Hebrew despair. The events surrounding the Maccabean conquest are similar in tone to the hopelessness of the Byzantines during the final months of the Turkish siege. The dreams and visions of Daniel the Prophet became a model and strongly influenced later apocalyptic literature and revelations of the supernatural appearing in Judaic and Christian writings.

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[44] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 41–2; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 87. For comparative texts, cf. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiia Patarskago*, 135–62; Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 65–72.

[45] These three names are pure inventions of Nestor-Iskander and there exist no comparable names in the sources.

[46] The left is regarded as evil, hence the right is good.

[47] On the 'Life of Daniel', see *Three Byzantine Saints. Contemporary Biographies of St Daniel the Stylite, St Theodore of Sykeon and St John the Almsgiver*, tr. Elizabeth Dawes and N. H. Baynes (Oxford, 1948), 8: ch. 3. An interesting, but not convincing thesis has been advanced by R. Bonfil, 'The "Vision of Daniel" as a Historical and Literary Document', *Zion* 44 (1979), 111–47, that Daniel was a tenth-century Christianized Greek Jew.

St Daniel the Stylite, on the other hand, was important to Nestor-Iskander because he prophesied the fate of Byzantine emperors. But nowhere does St Daniel predict beyond his own age and his concern is limited to contemporaneous political and religious questions in Constantinople and issues of succession. If Nestor-Iskander believed that St Daniel had reinterpolated Daniel the Prophet, this distinction is not made clear.

The text of *The Visions of Daniel*, based on a Slavonic Daniel composed in Sicily between 821 and 829 and translated from the Greek, demonstrates in the *Tale* substantial convolution from a number of sources, as well as invention.[48] This embellished text precludes positive identification of sources. Nestor-Iskander relates that he drew upon a *later* (*poslednem*) prognostication of, presumably, Daniel the Prophet, but fails to establish which of the later predictions he utilized. Nestor-Iskander was fascinated with two verses from the *Book of Daniel*, which read 'the fourth kingdom ... shall be greater than all kingdoms', and 'another [king] shall rise up after them, and he shall be mightier than the former, and he shall bring down three kings'.[49] Nestor-Iskander carries his fascination with the number four to the extreme when he speaks of the four sons of the king who will vanquish the Muslims. The four sons will reside respectively in descending order of importance in the capitals of Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Thessaloniki. The intent of Nestor-Iskander here is to order cities according to historical precedence: i.e., Roman, Late Roman, Byzantine, and Byzantine–Slavic.

This convolution extends to a significant borrowing and interpolation of the number 32 from Methodios of Patara and its incorporation into the extant versions of *The Visions of Daniel*.[50] For Nestor-Iskander the number was more than coincidental. It foretold the future of the city. He concluded that the city would remain under Muslim domination for only 32 years, and two major events prompted him to this conclusion. First, in 1472 the grand prince of Moscow, Ivan III, married Zoe, the niece of Constantine XI, and the event now offered a ray of hope that Constantinople would be liberated by the Muscovites.[51] Second, the death of Mehmed II in 1481 fuelled speculation and tended to give credence to the popular belief that the city would soon re-emerge under Christian rule. The liberator of Constantinople would be an *average person*, but a *warrior-king*, a saviour who at the end of his life would surrender his crown at Jerusalem.[52] Clearly, Nestor-Iskander rewrote, revised, and augmented *The Visions of Daniel* as a response to the expectations of his age and his elaboration

[48] See especially the discussion on this in Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 62–4.

[49] Daniel 7.23 and 7.24.

[50] On this see Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 71, ch. 9, and its derivation from Pseudo-Methodios.

[51] Regarding Ivan III and Zoe see Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, n. 103 to the text.

[52] Leonid, *Povest' o Tsar'grade*, 41–2; Hanak and Philippides, *Nestor-Iskander*, par. 87. The theme of a warrior-king or a warrior-emperor is a commonplace, often cited in numerous sources. On this see Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, passim.

upon the succession of kings. These bits of information appear as pastiches of prophetic fragments drawn together into a coherent whole.[53]

The importance of the *Tale* of Nestor-Iskander as a variant upon annalistic, apocalyptic, and prophetic literature should not be denied. He blended biblical, patristic, apocalyptic, prophetic, and historical sources in such a fashion as to offer a new explanation suited to contemporary circumstances – a time of tension and adversity for Constantinople. The *Tale* of Nestor-Iskander is however optimistic: it foresees a restored city as the fulfilment of prophecies and oracles.

[53] In recent years a vast literature has been written on the Late Byzantine *schema* of history. Among them see especially C.J.G. Turner, 'Pages from Late Byzantine Philosophy of History', *BZ* 57 (1964), 346–73; and J. Wortley, 'The Literature of Catastrophe', *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines* 4 (1977), 1–17.

3

Were Byzantine monastic *typika* literature?

Michael Angold

This is a question that would have perplexed an educated Byzantine layman. *Typika* did not belong to any branch of literature that his rhetorical education had taught him to identify. A Byzantine monk might have grasped the point of the question, but he would have had difficulties in accepting that in any conventional sense were *typika* literature. He would have insisted that their purpose was practical: to regulate the life of a monastic community. If pressed, he might have agreed that they had long since lost their exclusively regulatory character; he might even have been willing to admit that they could become vehicles for the expression of personal concerns and feelings and the statement of private ideals, which aligned them with works of spiritual edification. This can happen with books of instruction. When Mrs Beeton wrote her book on *Household Management*, she could hardly have been aware that she was crystallizing a branch of writing with strong literary pretensions, where programmes for life can be set out, and personal preferences and prejudices displayed: a branch of writing which goes some way towards fulfilling the notion of literature as a mirror of life. It cannot be denied that this is a very loose definition of literature, far too elastic to have been acceptable to an educated Byzantine. The possibility must nevertheless be entertained that the expression of the deepest human concerns may take quite bizarre literary forms: this may be especially the case in Byzantium, where literary activity was so formal.

Typikon[1] was a term that could be applied to a series of books of rules and regulations. The most notable were the monastic *typika*, which survive in some numbers from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. They in their turn divide into two main groups. There were the liturgical *typika*, which contained the basic liturgical order for a monastery or a church. Then there were the so-called *ktetorika* or founders' *typika*, in which the rules and regulations for the monastic life were set out. Each monastery and nunnery had its own rule set out in its *typikon*. Most were indebted to one or two influential rules, such as

[1] See E. Hermann, 'Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine. Typica ktetorika, caristicari e monasteri "liberi"', *OCP* 6 (1940), 294–315; K.A. Manaphes, Μοναστηριακὰ τυπικὰ-διαθήκαι (Athens, 1970).

that of the monastery of St John of Stoudios at Constantinople. These monastic *typika* were rules rather than foundation charters.[2] *Typika* – I shall use the term to refer to these monastic rules – came in all shapes and sizes. Some were massively long documents, which included the autobiography of the founder, the details and sometimes even the description of the foundation, spiritual exhortations to the abbot and to the members of the community. Others were brief to the point of scarcely being a sufficient guide in themselves to the everyday realities of the monastic life. Many of these shorter *typika* come in the form of the last will and testament of a founder or an abbot and form a subdivision of the *typika*.[3] They were sometimes intended to supplement an existing *typikon*, but they might be the only guidance that a founder or an abbot left his flock.

The early *typika* are rather perfunctory. The earliest is usually taken to be that which St Sabas gave to the Lavra he founded outside Jerusalem. The original version was drawn up shortly before his death in 532. It does not provide for the detailed regulation of the monastic life, just a few very basic rules. No eunuch, boy, or woman was to be admitted to the monastery; any monk visiting a nunnery was to be expelled. Hermits devoting themselves to an ascetic life in the wilderness, but attached to the Lavra, were expected to return to the monastery to take part in vigils, if in no other services. They were not to take advantage of their freedom to wander into cities and villages. Those members of the community who might be promoted to an abbacy or a bishopric were to have no rights over the Lavra. The election of an abbot always caused friction between Greeks and Syrians. To prevent this St Sabas ordained that no Syrian should ever be abbot, but by preference the other officers of the monastery should be Syrians. St Sabas's *typikon* is in no way comprehensive and there is not any hint of edification. It is just a few bald rules.[4] In this respect it is not very different from the influential rule of Stoudios. This purports to be that given to the monastery of St John of Stoudios at Constantinople by its abbot St Theodore of Stoudios (died 826). It sets out the details of services; it deals with the reception of new members into the community. It is dominated by the need to follow a timetable. In so far as it expresses any spiritual concerns, these revolve around the need for discipline. The disobedient were confined in isolation to think on their sins. There was no corporal punishment because this was only appropriate for secular society. It was contrition that was required for even the most trifling offences, such as breaking a plate at table. Free time could be spent reading in the library, where you signed your books out, but woe betide any monk who failed to return his volume on time.[5] The Studite

[2] This is argued by Manaphes, Τυπικά, 60–6.

[3] Manaphes, Τυπικά, 126–36.

[4] E. Kurtz, Τύπος καὶ παράδοσις τῆς σεβασμίας λαύρας τοῦ Ἁγίου Σάβα, *BZ* 3 (1894), 168–70. The surviving version of this *typikon* contains a reference to the Franks, which suggests that it must date from the time of the crusades. It is likely to have been an interpolation, not evidence of a complete revision of the rule.

[5] *PG* 99.1703–20.

rule could be so basic because it was supplemented by various of St Theodore's works of edification, including his will, which contained detailed advice about the monastic life.[6] He was following in the path of St Basil of Caesarea whose various writings furnished the essential guidelines for the cenobitic life. There was no rule of St Basil, but his writings on the monastic life help to explain why the early *typika* consisted of a few basic rules. A founder or an abbot could be confident that they would be supplemented by a whole tradition of works of guidance and edification, of which the most influential were those of St Basil. The Studite rule acknowledged that a variety of traditions and regulations existed in different monasteries, recognizing the absence in the Orthodox Church of a single monastic rule.

Paradoxically, because of the prestige of the monastery of Stoudios within the Byzantine world, and because of its sheer convenience, the Studite rule increasingly became the main guide for monastic life.[7] Its imprint is clear on the *typikon* which St Athanasios drew up for his foundation of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. Sixteen of its 24 stipulations were drawn almost word for word from Theodore the Studite's will.[8] But there is a new element: Athanasios' *typikon* begins with a long autobiographical introduction, in which the founder provides a detailed account of his friendship with the emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963–9). Without the emperor's support the Great Lavra might never have been built. Athanasios was living in a cell given to him by the *protos* of the Holy Mountain, as was usual for those who had come for a sojourn of two or three years. It was Nikephoros who induced Athanasios to found the Great Lavra and provided him with the means. The chrysobull in favour of Athanasios that the emperor had drafted was the real foundation charter of the Great Lavra. Extracts were included in the *typikon*. Athanasios' friendship with the emperor Nikephoros Phokas was the inspiration behind the foundation. The emperor even declared his intention of joining him on Mount Athos, as soon as the cares of office allowed. Athanasios was prepared to believe that the emperor would have fulfilled his vow, had he not been murdered.[9]

Autobiographical details explaining how a monastery or a nunnery came to be founded were to become a feature of almost all *typika*. If they did not exactly provide the *typikon* with a unifying element, they gave direction and purpose: they explained the circumstances and inspiration behind the foundation, which was in a sense an extension, or perhaps better a crystallization, of the founder's experience. St Athanasios was able to inject into his *typikon* a personal element. This was something new and marked the beginning of the transformation of the *typikon*: it ceased to be a few basic rules that had to be supplemented by other writings and became a fully fledged monastic rule which

[6] *PG* 99.1694–1703 (*Catechesis chronica*); 1722–58 (including *poenae monasteriales*); 1813–24 (Will).

[7] Manaphes, Τυπικά, 94–5.

[8] Manaphes, Τυπικά, 95.

[9] Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Leipzig, 1894), 102–7.

not only contained detailed regulations for the day to day running of a monastery, but also set out the spiritual objectives of the monastic life, filtered through the experience of the founder.

In this transformation the most influential model was to be the *typikon* of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis just outside the walls of Constantinople.[10] This monastery was founded by one Paul on a suburban estate left to him by his parents. The *typikon* was drawn up after his death by his disciple and successor as abbot, who no doubt took the monastic name of Timothy out of deference to him. Paul died in 1054 at a time when the community was still taking shape. All he left behind was a compilation of ascetic texts which might have served as a general guide to his followers. It remained for Timothy to carry his work to completion. This entailed bringing the construction of the monastery church and buildings to a conclusion and compiling a rule for the new community. This foundation represented another revival of the ideal of the common life. Much was familiar: total obedience to the abbot; the stress upon equality under his rule; the complete autonomy of the monastery. But a new note was sounded with the emphasis on the importance of confession. The abbot's chief task was to hear the confession of the monks. To this end he was to make himself available twice a day, after *orthros* and compline.[11]

The inspiration behind this may well have been the work of St Symeon the New Theologian, whose official canonization occurred shortly after the foundation of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. Basil the *protoasekretis* who is described as the founder of the Evergetis, and may be identical with either Paul or Timothy or may be their successor, was the author of poems celebrating Symeon.[12] The prayers chosen for *orthros* by Timothy in his *typikon* seem to reflect Symeon's intuition of the divine light: 'O God eternal, light without beginning or end'. Symeon is chiefly remembered for his mysticism, rather than for his devotion to the ideal of the common life, but he did work within its framework in his monastery of St Mamas. A work of his on confession has survived. Its main purpose was to show that monks had just as much right as priests to hear confession. Symeon does not single out confession as the cement of the monastic life, but he emphasizes elsewhere the problem of penitence and the role of the spiritual father.[13] At the Theotokos Evergetis confession enhanced the role of the abbot as the spiritual father of the community. It was further highlighted by the curious arrangement of having two abbots. The senior was to be a recluse who devoted himself to contemplation and the spiritual life of the community; the junior was to busy himself with the details of its administration. In the end, Timothy decided that this

[10] P. Gautier, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Evergetis', *REB* 40 (1982), 5–101.

[11] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 29–33.

[12] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 9–10.

[13] Text in K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim Griechischen Mönchtum: eine Studie zu Symeon dem neuen Theologen* (Leipzig, 1898), 110–27.

was not practical and settled for a single abbot who could spend his time in seclusion, if he saw fit. The original arrangement, nevertheless, seems to point to a recognition that mysticism, or at least contemplation, was one of the sources of inspiration for the foundation.[14] Its prestige was such that it attracted well-connected benefactors. The most distinguished was the grand duke John Doukas, a brother-in-law of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos, and one of his trusted commanders.[15] The Theotokos Evergetis continued to exercise influence on the monastic ideal throughout the twelfth century. One suspects that this had something to do with the backing it received from the Komnenos–Doukas family, which liked to identify itself with monastic piety.

The Theotokos Evergetis *typikon* was to be the model for that given by Alexios's empress Eirene Doukaina to her foundation of the Theotokos Kecharitomene,[16] and equally for that of the Theotokos Kosmosoteira, founded by their son the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos.[17] The espousal of the Theotokos Evergetis *typikon* by members of the imperial family may help to explain its popularity with other monastic founders of the time. It was used as the basis of his rule by the refounder of the monastery of St John Phoberos,[18] as well as by the refounder of St Symeon the New Theologian's monastery of St Mamas,[19] to be followed in his turn by the founder of the monastery of the Theotokos Heliou Bomon, perhaps better known as Elegmon.[20]

At the end of the twelfth century St Sabas, the first archbishop of the Serbian church, studied in the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis and used its rule as the basis of the one that he compiled for the Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos. This he then passed on as the rule of his monastery of Studenica in Serbia, whence it became the model for the *typika* of other Serbian monasteries.[21] The rule of the Theotokos Evergetis also passed to Cyprus, where in the early thirteenth century it was adapted by Abbot Neilos for the monastery of the Theotokos tou Machaira at Tamasa.[22] In other words, the rule of the Theotokos Evergetis is associated with a broadly-based current of monastic revival. Although it may have started in Constantinople and have owed much to aristocratic support, its influence spread out into the provinces to monastic reorganizers, such as Neilos, who could in no way be described as aristocrats. The widespread influence of the Theotokos Evergetis *typikon* was not unprecedented. Each of the major monastic revivals in the Orthodox

[14] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 47, lines 574–88.

[15] D.I. Polemis, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), 66–70.

[16] P. Gautier, 'Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitoménè', *REB* 43 (1985), 5–165.

[17] L. Petit, 'Typicon du monastère de la Kosmosoteira près d'Aenos', *IRAIK* 13 (1908), 17–77.

[18] A.I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (Petrograd, 1913), 1–88.

[19] S. Eustratiades, 'Typikon du monastère constantinopolitain du saint mégalomartyr Mamas', *Hell* 1 (1928), 245–314.

[20] A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej*, 1/1 (Kiev, 1895), 715–69.

[21] Sir D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 132.

[22] I.P. Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά* (Nicosia, 1969), 1–65.

Church, except perhaps that associated with St Gregory of Sinai and St Gregory Palamas, seems to have left a legacy in the shape of a *typikon*: that in sixth century Palestine with its emphasis on the lavriot system of monasticism in the *typikon* of St Sabas;[23] the Studite revival with its emphasis on the discipline of the common life in the Studite rule of the early ninth century; then the plantation of the cenobitic way of life on Mount Athos enshrined in the *typikon* of St Athanasios for the Great Lavra, which emphasized isolation from the world and the harmony of the monastic community. Each revival owed something to already existing monastic traditions, but added new elements and emphases. The Theotokos Evergetis rule underlined the importance of confession, as we have seen, but it also emphasized the social responsibilities of monasticism and the role of the monastic community as an intercessor for the dead in the shape of commemorations for its founders and benefactors and their families.[24]

Through its example and its rule the Evergetis monastery was far and away the most influential force in the Komnenian monastic revival, but it did not stand alone. There are a number of *typika* compiled from the late eleventh century which are quite independent of the Theotokos Evergetis rule. Sometimes they reveal aims and inspiration not so very different from those that pervaded it, but not always. The *typikon* which the bureaucrat and historian Michael Attaleiates drew up for his foundation of Panoiktirmon Christos breathes a quite different spirit. This may be because it was not a straightforward monastic foundation, but rather a charitable institution with branches in both Constantinople and Rhaidestos in Thrace, dependent upon a small monastery in the heart of the capital. Attaleiates had originally thought to instal secular clergy to run his foundation rather than monks. He does not explain why he changed his mind, but the tenor of his *typikon* suggests that this was necessary because of the fiscal and financial advantages that it brought. His foundation was blatantly designed to ensure that his properties would form a trust – free from tax – for his son and heirs. He also took the prudent step of placing his foundation under the protection of the monastery of Stoudios; he conferred upon the abbot of Stoudios the right of investing the abbot of his foundation with his office, but added the rider that he was to lose this privilege, should he claim any rights over his foundation on the strength of this. Should this happen, his place was to be taken by the prefect of the city, whom he had already nominated as joint sponsor of his monastery. This meant that the prefect's name was to be inscribed in the diptychs of his foundation; more to the point, he was to receive a backhander of five *nomismata*, which was instantly to be removed, should he fail to assist the monastery in its lawsuits.[25] Because his

[23] By lavriot I mean the organization of hermits around a cenobitic community; see D. Papachrysanthou, 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines du VIIIe au XIe siècle', *Byz* 43 (1973), 58–80. There is a good introduction to Byzantine monasticism in J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), 335–49.

[24] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 77–9, 81–3.

[25] P. Gautier, 'La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate', *REB* 39 (1981), 69 lines 845–61; 75, lines 940–59.

financial self-interest is so blatant, Attaleiates does reveal why monastic foundations attracted members of the administrative and aristocratic élite. The fiscal immunities they conferred were most advantageous, that is, as long as the monastery was not granted away in *charistike*, a device whereby monastic foundations were entrusted to the care of a lay patron. Attaleiates' *typikon* drips with apprehension that this might indeed happen.[26] The *typikon* was drafted in such a way as to prevent this possibility. For some founders the attraction of drawing up a detailed *typikon* may well have been to protect their foundation against the danger of being granted away in *charistike*.

This said, material concerns were not so blatantly obvious in other *typika* compiled around the same time. Gregory Pakourianos may have been careful to list the title deeds to the properties with which he endowed his monastery of the Theotokos Petritziotissa situated near Philippopolis in Thrace.[27] But this was scarcely the main concern of the *typikon* which he drew up in 1083. Although he held the office of grand domestic and was one of the main supporters of Alexios I Komnenos' coup in 1081, he did not belong to the charmed Komnenos–Doukas connection. His Georgian origins were to mean that he would always be an outsider. He was suspicious of the good faith of the Byzantines and reserved membership of his monastery to Georgians. It was intended as a resting place for the members of the warband who had followed him through many adventures since the day that they had set out together from Georgia. The *typikon* itself was derived from that of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Panagiou, about which almost nothing else is known: incidentally, a reminder of how many *typika* have disappeared without trace. Like the Theotokos Evergetis *typikon*, it placed much emphasis upon adherence to the ideal of the common life. Pakourianos himself was most exercised by the role of the monastery as an intercessor with God for his sins and as a memorial to his dead brother Apasios. This was another side of monasticism which explains its attraction to aristocratic founders.[28]

Quite different was the *typikon* of St Christodoulos for the monastery of St John the Theologian on the island of Patmos. There is no evidence that he was influenced by the currents of monastic reform emanating from the capital. He had been *protos* of the monastic confederation of Mount Latros before fleeing in the face of the Turks.[29] His intention was to keep alive in his new foundation the traditions of Mount Latros. He tried to interest the emperor Alexios I

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[26] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', 75–7; Cf. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), 65–112.

[27] P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos', *REB* 42 (1984), 5–145; cf. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 113–91.

[28] See R. Morris, 'Monasteries and their Patrons in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *ByzForsch* 10 (1985), 215–20.

[29] *MM* VI, 60–61. On the life of St Christodoulos, see E.L. Vranouse, *Τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα τοῦ ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου, ἱδρυτοῦ τῆς ἐν Πατμῷ μονῆς* (Athens, 1966), 87–127; Vranouse, *Ἔγγραφα Πάτμου* I (Athens, 1980), 3*–58*.

Komnenos in his plans. The emperor was not enthusiastic and would have preferred it if Christodoulos had organized monastic communities on Mount Pelion in Greece. His efforts there to impose a cenobitic regime met with resistance. It was thanks to the intervention of the emperor's mother Anna Dalassene that he was able to proceed with his plans for Patmos. His *typikon* harked back to an earlier tradition. It was far less elaborate than that of the Theotokos Evergetis. The monastic ideal expressed is also rather old-fashioned. No particular importance is attached to confession, nor to the social responsibilities of a monastery, nor to its intercessory role. Christodoulos' main concern was to escape from the trammels of the world. The exhortations are conventional, enjoining the abbot to act as the *typos* of his community and exalting the basic monastic virtues of humility, obedience and isolation from the world. He justified his method for selecting a new abbot by reference to the lives of St Pachomios and St Euthymios, and because it had been recommended by the emperor Justinian. In the face of new currents of monastic reform from Constantinople it was perhaps his intention to emphasize that his foundation could trace its origins via Latros to the earliest days of monasticism; he believed that Latros had been founded by desert fathers fleeing before the Blemmyes.[30] Perhaps, too, an awareness of a long unbroken monastic tradition allowed him to keep the details of the organization of the monastery to a minimum. He limits himself to the choice and duties of the abbot and the officers of the monastery and to the reception and vetting of new members of the community. His *typikon* is not unlike that of St Athanasios for the Great Lavra. He too has a very long autobiographical introduction which takes up almost half the document.[31]

However various its inspiration, the monastic revival which got under way in Byzantium from the turn of the eleventh century was dominated by the ideal of the common life. It had the backing of Alexios I Komnenos and members of the imperial family. It developed into something far broader than just a revival that met the needs and suited the interests of the imperial family and the court aristocracy. It fanned out into the provinces. Alexios supported the work not only of St Christodoulos, but also of Hosios Meletios in mainland Greece.[32] Around the monastery he founded on Mount Kithairon between Athens and Thebes was a series of hermitages,[33] which suggests that he favoured a lavriot form of the common life. His *typikon* has not survived, but it clearly had local influence, because Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplion, enjoined its use for the order of service and dietary regime in the monastery he founded at Areia outside Nauplion in 1143.[34] The influence of the Komnenian monastic revival

[30] *MM* VI, 60, 1.31–35.

[31] *MM* VI, 59–69.

[32] V. G. Vasiljevskij, *Pravoslavnij Palestinskij Sbornik* 6 (1886), 49, cf. 26–7.

[33] A. K. Orlandos, *ABME* 5 (1939), 34–118.

[34] *MM* V, 180, 11.21–26.

was still being felt in the early thirteenth century with the work of Abbot Neilos on the island of Cyprus and St Sabas in Serbia.[35]

It is not possible to establish any direct links with the spate of monastic foundations that occurred in Constantinople after 1261. This is associated with Michael VIII Palaiologos' efforts to restore Constantinople to its former glory after the destruction brought by the years of Latin occupation. The aims of this monastic revival were more obviously aristocratic. In due course, aristocratic interest would extend new monastic foundations to the provincial towns of the empire: Thessaloniki and Serres for example.[36] The *typika* which have survived from these Palaiologan foundations are in much the same mould as those surviving from the twelfth century.

K. A. Manaphes identifies 40 surviving *typika*, which he divides into monastic *typika* and wills. The vast majority – 30 out of 32 monastic *typika*; six out of eight wills – date from between the late tenth century and the early fifteenth century.[37] The few surviving from before the mid-tenth century are perfunctory and have no claim to be literature. The same could be said of a number of the *typika* surviving from the later period. The bulk of them, however, have a quite different shape. The change was not just a matter of the regulations included being more comprehensive and more detailed. It was much more that new elements were added. Most obvious were the spiritual exhortations and meditations which derived from sermon literature and were sometimes taken word for word from the classics of Byzantine spirituality, from the works of St Basil or the *Ladder* of St John Klimakos. Where the autobiographical elements came from is more mysterious; they seem to have a monastic origin. Monastic reformers, such as St Athanasios or St Christodoulos, left long autobiographical accounts, while lay founders of monasteries are usually more sparing with autobiographical detail. Symeon the New Theologian's sermons are filled with much personal detail, although he tries to disguise that he is talking about himself, perhaps because he found auto-hagiography a shade immodest.[38] This cannot be said of Nikephoros Blemmydes who composed two autobiographies in the mid-thirteenth century that are filled with hagiographic detail. They are cast in the form of sermons to the brothers of the monastery he founded.[39] He compiled a *typikon* for their benefit, but only fragments survive.[40]

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[35] See above p. 50.

[36] E.g. Nea Moni at Thessaloniki: V. Laurent, 'Ecrits spirituels inédits de Macaire Choumnos', *Hell* 14 (1955), 40, 86, testament, 76–85; St John Prodromos on Mount Menoikos outside Serres: P. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955), 5–11, 161–76.

[37] Manaphes, Τυπικά, 178–92.

[38] E.g. Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, *Catéchèses*, ed. B. Krivocheine, II (Paris, 1964), no. xxii, pp. 364–93.

[39] Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Autobiographia sive curriculum vitae necnon Epistula universalior*, Corpus Christianorum, series graeca 13, ed. J.A. Munitiz (Brepols-Turnhout, 1984). Cf. G. Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, 3, ii (Frankfurt am Main, 1962), 831–75.

[40] A. Heisenberg, *Nicephori Blemmydae curriculum vitae et carmina* (Leipzig, 1896), 93–9; J.A. Munitiz, 'A Missing Chapter from the *Typikon* of Nikephoros Blemmydes', *REB* 44 (1986), 199–207.

His sermons would have provided an ideal quarry for any autobiographical introduction. Within a monastic community the personality and the past life of the abbot and even more of the founder were of consuming interest, which could be satisfied by some hagiographical account written up after his death. The community might equally expect their founder to leave some account of his life, and the *typikon* was the appropriate place. The changing character of the *typikon* can therefore be explained in part by the way the founder felt the need to infuse it with his spiritual wisdom and his past experience, which had also been the material of sermons.

Given the continuity of Byzantine monasticism, there is on the face of it no particular reason why autobiographical details and other edifying material should have been added to monastic *typika* in the eleventh century rather than at some other date. There were, however, other new elements in the *typika* which may help to provide an explanation. Why was the question of lay patronage now so carefully considered? What was the point of setting out the legal basis of the monastery's claims to autonomy? Why was it thought necessary to include a detailed inventory of the monastery's landed property together with title deeds? Why the very strong emphasis upon the monastery's independence? These are all innovations which reflect important changes that were occurring in the eleventh century. There are signs that monasteries were being granted fiscal immunities on a larger scale than before, which meant that monasteries became desirable investments.[41] There was an extension too of lay patronage of monasteries in the form of grants of *charistike*.[42] The stress in the *typika* upon the complete autonomy of the foundation was designed to guard against the possibility of its being granted away in *charistike*.[43] Circumstances were such that safeguarding the independence of a monastery went hand in hand with the exploitation of fiscal advantages. Michael Attaleiates excepted, such blatant considerations were not among the chief motives for the foundation of monasteries at this time. It was just as important that, with such pressures, the independence of a monastery would safeguard its spiritual objectives. This in turn led the founder to justify his monastery's existence in spiritual terms, whence the need to include in his *typikon* evidence of his spiritual wisdom and the journey that led him to found his monastery. These elements were a necessary balance to the stipulations about autonomy, lay patronage and estate management. The transformation of the *typikon* from a set of rules to a much more complicated document can best be explained by the coincidence in the mid-eleventh century of a monastic revival and uncertainties about the legal and fiscal status of the monastery.

[41] G. Ostrogorsky, 'Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance', *Byz* 28 (1958), 174–97 esp. 181.

[42] H. Ahrweiler, 'Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe–XIe siècles', *ZRVI* 10 (1967), 1–27, reprinted in Ahrweiler, *Etudes sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance* (London, 1971), VII, 35.

[43] See above, p. 52.

This monastic revival was connected with the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. As we have seen, its *typikon* was the first to survive that displays most of the new traits we associate with the *typika* of the eleventh century and later. It became the model for many others. There is nothing to suggest that either its founder Paul or his immediate successor Timothy had close aristocratic connections, but the monastic revival would be taken up by the aristocratic families associated with the imperial dynasty of Komnenos. Did the aristocratic interest in the monastic revival leave some mark on the *typika* that aristocrats and members of the imperial family compiled for their foundations? This is exactly the problem that Dr C. Galatariotou has convincingly addressed.[44] Her contention is that aristocratic *typika* show a quite different spirit and outlook from non-aristocratic ones. The former placed great stress on kith and kin. Particular attention was paid to the commemoration of members of the family, including on occasion servants and retainers.[45] Even if the Byzantines never developed the notion of Purgatory and were rather shocked by it when they eventually came across it in the thirteenth century,[46] they held that intercession for the dead through the prayers of a monastic community was efficacious and helped their souls on their shadowy way. For the aristocrat it seems to have been more than that: through commemorations the whole family (and this might include friends and retainers), the quick and the dead, were reunited in the monastery, which served as a family shrine. It might also do service as a family trust, in which some of the wealth of the family was entailed.

Aristocratic founders took a special interest in the question of the rights of the family over the monastery and in the details of administration. They often made special provisions to ensure that within their foundations birth counted for something; aristocrats who entered the community could expect preferential treatment. This was in contrast to non-aristocratic foundations where the stress was upon equality before God and the abbot. There was also a very strong emphasis upon the spiritual ties created by membership of the monastic community which took precedence over all others. There are, on the other hand, similarities that cannot be ignored. Both aristocratic and non-aristocratic *typika* pay careful attention to estate management. Both aristocratic and non-aristocratic founders adapted the same model for their *typika* – the *typikon* of the Theotokos Evergetis. It was used by the empress Eirene Doukaina for her foundation of the Theotokos Kecharitomene and by her son Isaac Komnenos for his foundation of the Theotokos Kosmosoteira. It was also used by a commoner, Abbot Neilos for his *typikon* for the monastery of the Theotokos tou Machaira. Dr Galatariotou found it extremely difficult to place the *typikon* of Isaac Komnenos in her scheme, because it lacked what she has identified

[44] C. Galatariotou, 'Byzantine *Ktetorika Typika*: a Comparative Study', *REB* 45 (1987), 77–138.

[45] E.g. in *typikon* of Pantokrator: P. Gautier, 'Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator', *REB* 32 (1974), 1–147, 41–7; or of Kosmosoteira: Petit, 'Typicon Kosmosoteira', 46, lines 23–37.

[46] See G. Dagron, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient* (London, 1984), XIII.

as aristocratic concerns: an emphasis upon the family in the shape of commemorations and an interest in administrative detail.[47] On the other hand, it conforms well enough to the pattern established by the Theotokos Evergetis rule and underlines the importance of a model in the shaping of a *typikon*. From a formal point of view the contrast between aristocratic and non-aristocratic *typika* does not work very well; in much the same way the old distinction drawn between the aristocratic and non-aristocratic psalter has become increasingly hard to justify except as a matter of convenience.[48]

It might be supposed that because aristocrats, particularly members of the house of Komnenos, were highly educated, their *typika* would display a higher literary quality than those compiled by commoners. Sure enough, Isaac Komnenos' *typikon*, even if it does not quite conform to the aristocratic pattern, reflects his literary talents. The description he gives of the setting of his monastery is of a lyricism that would not have been out of place in one of those romances that circulated at the Komnenian court.[49] But it is no more eloquent than the description that St Neophytos gives of his hermitage outside Paphos.[50] The saint tells us that his parents never gave him any schooling. When he entered the monastery of Koutsovendi, he was sent to tend the vineyards because of his lack of any education. He managed to pick up basic literacy during his early years at the monastery from the age of 19 or 20 onwards.[51] In Byzantium, as elsewhere, the lack of a formal education was not necessarily a bar to literary activity.

Perhaps the most moving of the *typika* is the Lincoln College *typikon* which Theodora Synadene compiled for the nunnery of the Theotokos of Certain Hope at Constantinople. This she founded in the early fourteenth century after her husband's death. She records the sense of despair this induced: 'I did not know how I could remain in the world nor how I could live according to its ways nor how I could heed its dreams even; nor vainly fight against its shades and fantasies'.[52] Theodora Synadene was from the imperial house of Palaiologos and therefore presumably received a reasonably good education, but in Byzantium women rarely had the opportunity to find an outlet for their literary skills. In any case, as we have seen with St Neophytos, a formal education may not have been the best qualification for injecting literary qualities into a document such as a *typikon*. A Byzantine education fitted its recipient to

[47] Galatariotou, '*Ktetorika Typika*', 107.

[48] E.g. the diffident discussion of the subject by A. Cutler, 'The Aristocratic Psalter: the State of Research', *XVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines. Rapports et Co-Rapports*, III (Athens, 1976), 236–44.

[49] Petit, 'Typicon Kosmosoteira', 57, lines 26–36.

[50] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 88, lines 15–26; 90, lines 1–29. On St Neophytos, see now C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: the Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991).

[51] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 75, lines 21–9.

[52] H. Delehaye, *Deux typika byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), 24.

compose according to recognized genres, but what happened when confronted with the task of drawing up a *typikon*, which would most certainly not have been recognized as a literary genre by any well educated Byzantine? It gave the possibilities of a freedom of expression that might have been welcome to those without too much education and with feelings to convey, but it might have been rather daunting for those taught to follow a set pattern of composition.

Some *typika* may have displayed admirable literary qualities, but whether they were literature is quite another matter. It was certainly not their purpose. Theodora Synadene gave it as her opinion that the main purpose of a *typikon* was to provide the necessary legal regulation for the monastic way of life.[53] A *typikon* was first and foremost a legal and an administrative document. The way it was treated and used would seem to remove it from the sphere of literature. Witness the ceremony which took place on 15 March 1171. The abbot and officers of the monastery of St Mamas deposited a casket for safe keeping in the *skeuophylakeion* or treasury of the monastery of Philanthropenos. It contained, along with the title deeds to its various properties, the *brebion* (or inventory) and a copy of the *typikon* of the monastery. The casket was never to leave the safety of the treasury of Philanthropenos on any pretext for more than three days. On occasion, the monks of St Mamas might wish to borrow their *typikon*. As a guarantee of its safe return, they had to deposit with the monastery of Philanthropenos the titles to the revenues from their estates.[54] This is not an isolated example of a *typikon* being elaborately stored away for safe keeping. Pakourianos had the Greek version of the *typikon* of his monastery of the Theotokos Petritziotissa – and this was the version that was to be considered authoritative – lodged in the monastery of Panagiou at Constantinople.[55] The empress Eirene Doukaina directed that one copy of the *typikon* and *brebion* of her foundation of the Theotokos Kecharitomene should be deposited in the treasury of St Sophia, while the patroness of the nunnery was to keep another copy.[56] Although the canonist Theodore Balsamon deplored the practice,[57] a *typikon* might be produced in court as proof of a monastery's complete autonomy. Perhaps this goes some way towards explaining why such elaborate precautions were taken over its safe keeping. Joachim, metropolitan of Zichna, explains why he thought it was necessary to provide the monastery of St John Prodromos on Mount Menoikos near Serres with a *typikon*. It would protect the monastery against outside authorities and 'could be duly cited in the lawcourts when legal objections occurred in various matters and cases'.[58]

[53] Delehaye, *Deux typika*, 26.

[54] Eustratiades, 'Typikon Mamas', 310.

[55] Gautier, 'Typikon Pakourianos', 131, lines 1859–63.

[56] Gautier, 'Théotokos Kécharitoménè', 133, lines 2009–2020. Also deposited in the treasury of St Sophia was the *typikon* of Alexios I Komnenos' foundation of Christ Philanthropos.

[57] G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν Θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων* (Athens, 1853) II, 236.

[58] Guillou, *St Jean Prodrome*, 166, lines 13–15.

The precautions taken to safeguard the *typikon* also have a further explanation. The *typikon* was regarded as a sacred text, that should not be altered. It was to be respected, in the words of one *typikon*, not because it was the work of the founder, but because it was the law of God.[59] Its prestige was such that it often figured in the ceremonies for the installation of a new abbot or mother superior. To take the influential example of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: the *typikon* along with the abbot's staff would be placed on the altar and the new abbot would pick them up and the community would intone, 'He is worthy.'[60] It was also enjoined that at specified times of the year the *typikon* should be read out at table. The frequency varied from monastery to monastery. At the very least, it was three times a year;[61] often it was at the beginning of each month.[62] Joachim, metropolitan of Zichna, insisted that the *typikon* which he gave to the monastery of St John Prodromos should be read out aloud three times a year. This had to be done in the hearing of all the members of the community, so that they had no excuse for not being well acquainted with all the provisions of the *typikon*. The strict observance of the *typikon* should be a matter of rejoicing 'because released from all responsibility and free of the yoke of servitude the community could devote itself without care or distraction to a single labour, the care and cultivation of the soul'.[63] The ultimate purpose of a *typikon* was thus reckoned to be the enhancement of the spiritual life of the community. It therefore served a function not dissimilar to other classics of Byzantine spirituality, but the founder filtered the wisdom of a St John Klimakos or a St Basil of Caesarea through his own experience and understanding; his *typikon* was expressly designed for the community he created. It enshrined the corporate identity of the community. This did not prevent it from being studied by others as a guide to the monastic life. The model that the founder of the monastery of St John Phoberos followed for his *typikon* was the Theotokos Evergetis rule, but on matters of diet he also studied 'all the *synaxaria* of the saints and the *typika* of monasteries, both of the Holy Mountain and of the others'.[64]

A *typikon* was many things: a legal and administrative document and a sacred text brimming with spiritual wisdom. But can it really be considered to be literature? As we have said, not in any conventional sense, but there were approaches to literature in Byzantium that were not bounded by the classroom. Matter might count for more than form, if Kekaumenos is anything to go by. He considered reading a very serious business: 'Take a book and read it, but

[59] Guillou, *St Jean Prodrome*, 169, lines 20–21; Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, 732.

[60] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 51, lines 630–40.

[61] E.g. three times a year at the hermitage of St Neophytos: Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 81–2.

[62] E.g. monthly at the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis: Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 91, lines 1312–24; or at the Kosmosoteira: Petit, 'Typicon Kosmosoteira', 48, lines 22–6.

[63] Guillou, *St Jean Prodrome*, 169, lines 23–5.

[64] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*, 28–9.

having read a little, do not start to thumb through the pages or choose what you think is best and read that, for this is not beneficial, for it is the work of a babbler to prefer to choose a few passages to gossip about, rather than to read through the whole of a book, going over it a second or a third time'.[65] This approach to reading is one that presupposes that literature ought to be edifying, morally and spiritually uplifting. It is to be compared with the advice given in his *typikon* by St Neophytos. He included a list of the manuscripts belonging to his foundation. There were 16 in all: they were mostly commentaries and liturgical books, but there was one manuscript described as *Physiologias Anaphora*. This is likely to have been the *Physiologos*, a treatise which mixed natural history with edification. Neophytos insists that pious men will treat these manuscripts as though they were novels (*neara*), in the legislative sense, of course: 'Those that divine the meaning of what is written should praise the Holy Trinity, but only if they have understood through the gift of the Holy Spirit and not through human cleverness or artifice (*technologia*)'.[66] Once reading is treated as a sacred duty and a matter for inspiration, literature begins to take on a different complexion. Looked at in this way *typika* do seem to have a place within Byzantine sacred literature. The rituals associated with *typika* and the elaborate measures taken for their safe keeping do not necessarily detract from such a claim; they were after all sacred texts. Being read aloud to the community on set occasions positively enhances their status as literature, given that so much Byzantine literature was designed to be delivered orally.

Anybody who has bothered to look at a series of *typika* will have been struck by their apparent shapelessness, which seems to militate against claims that they should be regarded as literature. They are an amalgam of disparate elements drawn from various branches of literature and plain documentation: rules and regulations of different kinds; order of services; the spiritual testament in the form of an autobiography that might serve as an *apologia pro vita sua;* spiritual exhortations to the abbot and community which draw heavily on sermon material. In a few cases, where there are descriptions of the buildings and setting of the monastery, *ekphrasis* too might be added.

The *typikon* might be a compilation in various states of completeness. Founders sometimes added final testaments that were intended to supplement the original *typikon*. Perhaps it was more a matter of the birth pangs of a new literary form, with a format increasingly determined by the model of the Theotokos Evergetis rule, but one which proved flexible enough to accommodate other elements and a variety of emphases.

The metropolitan of Zichna made clear that there was a unifying purpose behind a *typikon*: to create an ideal society on earth. It has often been observed

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[65] *Cecaumeni Strategicon*, ed. B. Wassiliewsky and V. Jernstedt (Petrograd, 1896), 60, lines 21–7. This and other passages from the text have been discussed by C. Roueché in *The Greek Novel A.D. 1–1985*, ed. R. Beaton (London, 1988), 125–6.

[66] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 83, lines 33–4.

that as long as the monastery was a central concern of a Christian society there was no need for Utopia.[67] As a young man, Sir Thomas More was much attracted by a monastic vocation, but did not feel capable of meeting its exacting demands. The monastic ideal influenced his views on Utopia.[68] However anachronistic the formulation is, monastic rules were the Utopian literature of the middle ages. Monasteries have sometimes been a little more successful than Utopian communities. The *typikon* of St Athanasios still governs the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, more than a thousand years after it was compiled. Most Byzantine foundations are, however, long since gone. Even in the lifetime of the Byzantine Empire relatively few monasteries had a significant lifespan. The majority declined abruptly after their founders' death. In this they were not so very different from Utopian communities. Nor were the rules laid down in the *typika* always very effective. If we are to believe Theodore Prodromos they tended to be observed in the breach.[69] In other words, most monastic founders in Byzantium had as little luck as more recent promoters of ideal societies. It was the striving after the ideal that lay behind the foundation of monasteries that was important. It has been much the same with Utopian communities.

It was a matter of creating paradise on earth. Paradise is a description of a monastery that appealed to the compilers of *typika*. It hovered midway between heaven and earth. Its inmates were 'the living dead, whose bodies were cut in two, only half mortal'.[70] They strove to recover the perfection lost at the Fall. This was to be achieved by subjugating the will and fleshly desires by surrendering to a common will and submitting entirely to the authority of God and the abbot. There should be no distractions. The monastery had to be cut off from the world. Its temptations had to be forgotten. Sex was not to spoil things as it had with the original paradise. There was an almost unanimous ban in the *typika* on the admission of beardless boys and eunuchs into monasteries. Michael Attaleiates was something of an exception in positively preferring eunuchs for his foundation, but it was set right in the heart of Constantinople, close to the Mese. There would have been too many temptations for the *barbatos*.[71] Only the compiler of the *typikon* for the monastery of St John Phoberos spelt out in specific detail the dangers that lay in wait for the unwary. He claimed that the reason why nuns went about veiled was *not* that they might otherwise excite the lust of the *barbatoi*, but that a glimpse of their faces would overexcite the other sisters of the community. Nor was it a good idea to let monks loose with the beasts of a monastery.[72] Sex was not the only

[67] E.g. F.E. and F.P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Oxford, 1979), 48–51.

[68] Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 48; J. C. Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society* (Cambridge, 1981), 58–9.

[69] D. C. Hesseling and H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (Amsterdam, 1910), 58, lines 240–42; 59, 1.269a; 61, line 289, 289a,l; 67, 1.400ee.

[70] Gautier, 'Typikon Pantokrator', 129, lines 1639–40.

[71] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', 65, lines 775–7.

[72] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*, 81, lines 7–11; 82, lines 11–25.

temptation that exercised the mind of the founder of the monastery of St John Phoberos. There were gluttony and avarice too. A shade unrealistically, perhaps, he thought that if he insisted on literate monks for his community they would observe the cardinal rule of poverty far better than illiterate monks, who did not fear the Lord and were slaves to their bellies.[73] Despite this precaution there were still members of the community who were reluctant to give up all their property when they entered the monastery. They argued that they wished to fulfil their charitable obligations on a personal basis. The founder complained bitterly that they were undermining the ideal of the common life.[74] Much the same problem exercised St Neophytos. He had been prevailed upon to increase the numbers of his community. This introduced a rowdy element into the monastery which disturbed the tranquillity of the common life. The root cause was the difficulty he had in supporting increased numbers. St Neophytos believed in the ideal of apostolic poverty. He counselled that the monastery should not acquire landed property because that would bring it into contact with the world. This would destroy the *hesychia* that they sought and would bring spiritual harm. It would also bring tax inspectors down on the monastery. All this came to pass when he was induced to acquire landed property to support the increasing number of monks.[75]

He was most unhappy about the new state of affairs, and exhorted his community not to be ensnared by their property.[76] It was the dilemma of the monastic and Utopian ideal. The world always intruded. It was not possible for a community to thrive if it cut itself off completely from the world. How could a monastery divorce itself from everyday life, if one of its principal responsibilities was the giving of charity? It was a role that required wealth. Founders rarely displayed St Neophytos' qualms about acquiring property, nor about obtaining imperial chrysobulls and patriarchal *hypomnemata* to safeguard them. The efficient administration of monastic estates was one of the prime concerns of the *typikon* that Abbot Neilos drew up for the monastery of the Theotokos tou Machaira.[77] He stressed that in the choice of an abbot the only qualities that counted were practical abilities.[78] The ideal of monastic autarky could be preserved at least on paper, if the total independence of the monastery and its estates could be guaranteed, but this still left the problem of who was going to work the estates. At Patmos, St Christodoulos hoped that the monks would support themselves; the prospect did not please them. In the face of their non-cooperation St Christodoulos found that he had to settle peasant families on the island to work the land. He tried to protect monastic peace and

[73] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*, 57, lines 27–33.
[74] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*, 41–42.
[75] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 80, lines 10–30.
[76] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 81, lines 1–11.
[77] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 38–40.
[78] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 58, l.13.

quiet by dividing the island in two; women and children were to be confined in one part of the island, and were not to venture into those parts reserved for the monks on pain of expulsion. Equally, any monk found entering a peasant dwelling was to be put on bread and water for 20 days. Persistent offenders were to be expelled from the community as a warning.[79]

The monastery was both outside and within the world. This produced a thousand and one practical problems which some founders sought to anticipate in the regulations and exhortations that they included in their *typika*. How was the distribution of charity to be organized? In his *typikon* Joachim, metropolitan of Zichna, strictly enjoined that the poor and hungry must never be sent empty away, but the distribution of alms was not to be made at the monastery gate, but at some distance from it to prevent disorder.[80] The compiler of the Theotokos Evergetis rule, equally, understood that charity demanded that nobody should be turned away from the gates of the monastery, but he made an exception for women. He claimed that this was not done out of hatred or suspicion of their sex, but because of the harm that the monks might suffer from their importunacy.[81] Women were a particular problem. Some monasteries banned them even as visitors. This is what the founder of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis would have liked to have done, but it had not proved possible entirely to exclude women; he does not explain exactly why this was. He was therefore willing on occasion to receive women who were famed for their virtuous life and noble bearing.[82] Visiting was a real problem, both monks and nuns wishing to leave their institutions to see relatives, and visitors and relatives hoping to see members of the community. Set out in the *typika* were the precise conditions under which visits of all kinds might take place. In the case of the nunnery of the Theotokos Kecharitomene female relatives could visit, but only with the approval of the mother superior. Men were not allowed into the precincts of the nunnery. Male relatives had therefore to wait at the gate, where a brief encounter might occur, but only under the gaze of the mother superior.[83]

The abbot and other officers of the monastery might have to leave the monastery on business. The Theotokos Evergetis *typikon* recognized this, but insisted that an abbot must never pass a night away from the monastery.[84] This might be possible for the abbot of a monastery just outside Constantinople, but the abbots of the Athonite monasteries or of Patmos needed to spend long periods in the capital in order to protect the interests of their communities. Administrative cares brought the monasteries and their officers into contact

[79] *MM* VI, 67–9.

[80] Guillou, *St Jean Prodrome*, 176, lines 39–40.

[81] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 83, lines 1185–8.

[82] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 83, lines 1194–1200.

[83] Gautier, 'Théotokos Kécharitoménè', 61–63.

[84] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 49, lines 588–604.

with the world. They were also bound to impose some kind of hierarchy within the monastery, despite the protestations that monasteries were communities where all were equal before God and the abbot. The Theotokos Evergetis rule might insist that there could be no question of precedence within the monastery, because monks were not like the laity and they must abandon the 'ways of the world'.[85] The truth of the matter was that power within a monastery was invariably monopolized by the abbot and a small number of the senior members of the community. The term used to describe them is *ekkritai* – exactly the same as that used for the emperor's inner circle of advisers.[86] The world intruded in other ways on the internal arrangements of a monastery. Indeed, Byzantine monasteries reflected, if in an idealized way, many of the traits of Byzantine society. This has been brilliantly elucidated by A.P. Kazhdan.[87] The key idea he introduces is the notion of 'dublikat': the ability a society has of replicating itself in an idealized form. So the Byzantine monastery is presented as an idealized version of the basic unit of Byzantine society: the household. We are back with the Utopian ideal; for all its claims to be independent of the world, it is nevertheless shot through with the concerns and assumptions of the society from which it sprang. But these were mediated through the promoter's own experience, which might give his Utopian plans an unexpected twist.

It was the same with Byzantine monasteries: the founder's experience was decisive and pervaded the *typikon* which he drew up for his foundation. It was most obviously present in the autobiographies with which many founders felt impelled to preface their *typika*, but it can also be caught in the petty details and emphases of the regulations they contained. It might just be the attention paid to the celebration of the feast of the patron saint of their foundation, whom they regarded as their special protector. Services for the commemoration of the dead equally brought forth that Byzantine love of exact ceremonial detail; a founder would lavish particular care on those of his kith and kin, not forgetting those that would in due course be held in his honour. In his *typikon* the Grand Domestic Gregory Pakourianos gives a detailed description of how he reburied his beloved brother Apasios in his new monastery. It is all the more moving for the snatch of autobiography that he inserts. He remembered that his father died when he and his brothers were very young. Their mother used up their patrimony providing dowries for their sisters; the brothers were left empty-handed. With Pakourianos at their head they led a wandering life, seeking their livelihood, as mercenaries; with their retainers they formed a formidable warband.[88] The monastery was not only to serve as a memorial for his brothers,

[85] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 35, lines 364–78.

[86] E.g. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.A. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975), 407, lines 77–8.

[87] A.P. Kazhdan, 'Vizantijskij monastyr' XI–XII vv. kak sotsial'naja gruppa', *VV* 31 (1971), 48–70.

[88] Gautier, 'Typikon Pakourianos', 39, lines 327–344; 92, lines 1215–36.

but also as a resting place for the retainers who had served Pakourianos so faithfully. Few of them had died in their beds, and all had shed their blood fighting the enemies of the Holy Cross and Romania. Those that survived found a resting place in the monastery. Pakourianos illuminates their expectations of life with a single sentence: used to hardship, they delighted in the vegetables that grew in profusion around the monastery.[89]

If Pakourianos' *typikon* is informed by the spirit and needs of a warband leader, that of Attaleiates reveals the Byzantine bureaucrat: formidable, if unattractive. The administrative, fiscal and legal details are precisely drafted; he is out to exploit all the tax advantages that his foundation will bring to himself and to his heirs. It is specified that they will receive two thirds of any surplus revenues accruing to the foundation.[90] He knows how to work the system, placing his foundation under the protection of the most prestigious monastery in Constantinople, that of St John Stoudios, and paying for the benevolence of the prefect of the city.[91] Attaleiates may have waived the necessity of monks bringing dowries with them, but does insist that they be in some way of practical use to the monastery. They were to be accountants, notaries and secretaries[92] – exactly the kind of people who staffed the bureaux of the central government where Attaleiates pursued his career. They would be excellent at running the foundation's estates, to which he paid particular attention. He recommended that its title deeds should be copied out in such a way that it was possible to see at a glance the documents relating to each of its estates.[93]

In his autobiographical introduction Attaleiates tried to present himself in as good a light as possible. We learn that he came from a modest provincial background and yet was able to attain high honours at Constantinople. God and education made this possible: 'In the search for an education I acquired in addition the basic necessities and what men consider present prosperity, with God always guiding my fortune'.[94] His wife's death led him to meditate upon the Last Things. His foundation was to be a thank offering to God for having good, pious parents, for the educational opportunities that he had grasped, and for the material comforts of a successful career.[95] The foundation was a justification for a successful career, or rather an apology, for he can scarcely conceal the shadier sides of his path to preferment and his acquisition of a considerable property.[96] The note of apology is even more marked in the autobiographies which the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos included in his

[89] Gautier, 'Typikon Pakourianos', 23, lines 45–52; 33, 11.238–47.
[90] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', 53, lines 611–13.
[91] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', 75, lines 940–59.
[92] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', 59, lines 704–7.
[93] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', 77, lines 999–1001.
[94] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', 19, lines 21–3.
[95] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', 19–21, 29–31.
[96] Gautier, 'La Diataxis', 25–9.

typika.[97] They reflect pride in his aristocratic background and the conviction that his promotion to the imperial dignity was willed by God and aided by his patron saints, the Archangel Michael and St Demetrios. They were designed as a defence against the bitter opposition that his usurpation and rule provoked. He closed his *typikon* for the monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios by reminding the patriarchs of Constantinople that he had given back Constantinople to orthodoxy; during the period of exile their predecessors had been known merely as the patriarchs of Nicaea or of the Bithynian eparchy.[98] Underlying the element of apology contained in these autobiographies was the conviction that through the creation of an ideal society amends were being made, but more than this: what more efficacious place of intercession could a man have than a monastery that he himself had founded! Pakourianos makes this abundantly clear. He went in fear of the Last Judgement. He knew that he was a sinner and a seeker after pleasure, but he had always hoped to build a fine monastery to serve as his last resting place. He dedicated it to the Mother of God, St John Prodromos and St George and trusted that they would intercede for him on the Day of Judgement.[99]

Not all founders felt the need to provide autobiographical details to explain the foundation of their monasteries and their purpose. Some were so closely identified with their monasteries that almost all personal information is suppressed. The compiler of the Theotokos Evergetis *typikon* will only divulge that he was the founder's first disciple and that his main achievement lay in the monastery's construction.[100] The founder of the monastery of St John Phoberos has even less to say about himself. He went to the site of the monastery and found that it was in ruins. He prefaces his *typikon* with what he entitles the archaeology of the monastery. Here he collects together the traditions associated with the abandoned monastery which he was to rebuild.[101] Abbot Neilos also provides a history of his monastery of the Theotokos tou Machaira as the introduction to his *typikon*, allowing himself a brief appearance towards the end: he was not a native of the island of Cyprus, but he did yeoman service for the monastery during a famine, obtaining supplies from Cilicia. It was his organizing abilities that were to bring him the abbacy. We get a taste of these when he sets out the rights that the bishop of Tamasia was to have over the monastery and the fiscal immunities which it enjoyed, backed up by various imperial charters it had acquired. Of his achievements he is content to single out the construction of the church and monastic buildings 'as you see today', and the way he had reduced difficult countryside to good order.[102] The

[97] *Typikon* for the monastery of St Demetrios: H. Grégoire in *Byz* 29–30 (1959–60), 448–68; *typikon* for the monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios: Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, 769–94.

[98] Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, 789–93.

[99] Gautier, 'Typikon Pakourianos', 32, lines 217–34.

[100] Gautier, 'Théotokos Evergetis', 17–19.

[101] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*, 5–10.

[102] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 10–14.

cost of devoting himself so entirely to the welfare of the community he only reveals in an aside: he regrets that his love for the monastery had never allowed him to lay aside his responsibilities and retreat to the hermitage he had built near the monastery. There were a few trees and running water. There it was that he had hoped to embrace the life of a hesychast.[103]

It may very well be that the relative lack of personal information provided by some compilers of *typika* is explained by the fact that the monasteries were already in existence in one form or another; they therefore felt bound to subordinate their own wishes and experience to the needs of the community. Otherwise it might be tempting to contrast the autobiographical detail provided by lay and monastic founders: the former filled with much personal information; the latter with only that strictly relevant to the foundation. This does not happen to be the case. There are lay founders, such as Isaac Komnenos, who provide virtually no autobiographical information,[104] while two of the most vivid and personal autobiographies were the work of monastic founders. Nobody describes quite as graphically the state of mind that predisposed him to a monastic life as St Neophytos. He was struck by life's flux. There was always anxiety about some loss. It might be the death of a child; but there were those with too many children, who found themselves weighed down by poverty. Or a rich man might become a pauper; a respected man infamous, a prosperous man burdened by harsh taxation. These were thoughts that troubled him as a child, but he took solace from the fact that creature comforts were of no importance, when there was only death and another world awaiting us. It was better to prepare for these: 'If some poor ragged beggar came to my father's house, seeking bread, I thought his way of life enviable and blessed, and, if it had been within my powers, I would cheerfully have embraced it'.[105] As in so many saints' lives the prospect of marriage finally decided Neophytos that life in the world was not for him and he ran away to a neighbouring monastery. He was brought back, but was finally allowed to pursue his vocation. He continues his life's story in some detail: working in the monastery's vineyards because he was illiterate; how he learnt to read and write; his pilgrimages which took him to Jerusalem and the wilderness of Judaea; how he eventually came to Paphos, intending to journey on by sea to Mount Latros, and the circumstances that led to the foundation of his hermitage in the hills above the town.[106] At one level, the account is intended to explain how the hermitage came into existence, but it also sets out the experience and the ideals that were to inspire the new community.

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[103] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 58, lines 16–26.

[104] Petit, 'Typicon Kosmosoteira', 20, lines 18–27, where he limits himself to admitting how far he had been from God and how contemplation of the punishment that awaited him for his sins lifted him 'from the deep grave of ignorance'.

[105] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 74, lines 9–31.

[106] Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ τυπικά*, 75–6.

St Christodoulos does not provide us with any comparable insights into what attracted him to the monastic life. He simply left home while still a child to become a monk. A desire for utter desolation overtook him; he wandered from place to place until he reached Palestine, where he became a hermit. He idealizes the monastic life followed in those parts. He was much impressed by the lavriot tradition, where all the members of the community would gather together on Sunday, but the other six days would be spent alone singing the psalms and engaged in handicrafts. The tranquillity was overturned by the attacks of the Saracens. Christodoulos set out for Mount Latros of which he was to become *protos*. Once again the attack of the heathen, this time the Turks, forced him to move on. 'Nothing escaped the attention of the godless, not even the eye of a needle';[107] he found a temporary refuge on the coast at Strobilos, but even this was not safe from the Turks. A move to the island of Kos only brought him trouble with his neighbours. He was convinced that there must be somewhere out of the reach of the world and its troubles. He heard that the island of Patmos was uninhabited, and was able to obtain it from the emperor Alexios I Komnenos. Its associations with St John the Theologian gave it a cachet comparable to that enjoyed by the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai.

The monks he took with him were at first excited by the prospect of their new home, but they were soon dismayed by the harsh conditions facing them on a desert island. Most of them refused to work for Christodoulos; only a few remained loyal. Christodoulos prevailed in the end and work began to go ahead. There is the relief at a journey ended.[108] Sadly, Patmos was not in this life to be his destination. Turkish raids forced him to abandon the island and seek refuge, yet again, at Eurippos on the island of Euboea. In a codicil to his will he entreated his monks to return and to lay his body to rest in the monastery at Patmos,[109] which they did. The thought of Patmos as Christodoulos' destination brings to mind Cavafy's Ithaca, but a deep gulf separates their ways of thinking. Cavafy offers the wisdom that life is good and life's journey is to be enjoyed for its own sake; the Laestrygones and the Cyclops only exist in the mind. Christodoulos could hardly agree, for he had met them in the shape of the Turks and Saracens. His road had been long and hard, full of adventures certainly, and it had brought him spiritual insights, the most profound of which was the necessity to escape from the world and to prepare for the next. His harsh experiences were to be sublimated in the foundation of a monastery, which as far as possible stood outside time. Its way of life was to approach the angelic; its chief purpose was the celebration of God in song, 'imitating the role of the angels, as far as human nature allowed'.[110]

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[107] *MM* VI, 60–62, quotation from p. 62,1.4.

[108] *MM* VI, 66–7.

[109] *MM* VI, 89, lines 22–4.

[110] *MM* VI, 70, line 7–8.

Ideally nothing should ever change, because the monastic life was a reflection, however distorted, of the divine order; time was frozen, thus preserving the founder's experience for future generations. The *typikon* of the empress Eirene Doukaina for the nunnery of the Theotokos Kecharitomene stresses the immutability of her foundation. It was not just that the *typikon* was not to be altered. The buildings themselves must remain exactly the same for ever. No new building was to take place within the precincts of the nunnery. The empress even obtained an undertaking from the emperor that, if any new buildings were put up overlooking the nunnery, they were to be pulled down.[111] This was taking things to extremes, but it reflects the desire to be found in most *typika* for an unchanging order. What else was the endless round of church services and other ceremonies designed to preserve? The unceasing observance of an unchanging order was the guarantee of continuing spiritual benefits. The empress Eirene closed her exhortations to the sisters of the Kecharitomene with a request for their prayers so that even if she was physically absent she would be with them in spirit.[112]

There is a Utopian character about this emphasis on changelessness and timelessness. It has been observed that 'what stands out in both the monastic rule and the later Utopia is their changeless character. Ideally neither the monastery nor the Morean Utopia has a history once it had been founded. Innovations are prohibited. Time regulates the day and events of the year but historical time which brings novelties does not exist.'[113] This brings us to a major concern of the Byzantines: how could the ravages of time be held at bay? It was done through the study and writing of history and the idealization of the past; time could be frozen by restoring old buildings or by the studied use of ancient literary models, as, for instance, with the revival of the Hellenistic novel in the twelfth century.[114] These could be literary vehicles for present concerns.[115] It might seem fanciful to press a parallel between the Hellenistic novel and a *typikon*, but in both the possibilities of an ideal society could be explored.

The discovery of the Hellenistic novel by the West during the Renaissance has an important bearing on the notion of Utopia, for it was to be one of the sources of More's *Utopia*.[116] There was a world of difference, though, between this work and a Byzantine *typikon*. *Typika* could hardly be described, as More's *Utopia* has been, as 'a dramatic narrative portrayal of life that is so essentially good and fulfils so many profound longings that it wins immediate, almost

[111] Gautier, 'Théotokos Kécharitoménè', 127–9.

[112] Gautier, 'Théotokos Kécharitoménè', 137, lines 2075–80.

[113] Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 50.

[114] R. Beaton, *The Greek Novel*, 134–43; Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge, 1989), 51–4.

[115] A.P. Kazhdan and A.W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1985), 202–4.

[116] Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 81–92.

instinctive, approbation'.[117] Both, however, cater for what has been identified as Man's Utopian propensity.[118] Utopian literature went through many stages and came in various forms: 'Literary genre, constitution of the ideal polity, as state of mind, the religious or scientific foundations of a universal republic'.[119] The *typikon* comes closest as a form of Utopian literature – making due allowance for anachronism – to a programme for an optimum society.[120] Such a programme may well be far removed from anything identifiable as literature: no more than a collection of rules and regulations. Some *typika* were just that. But it had always been recognized that a monastery, like any Utopian society, could never only be a matter of rules and regulations, of following a strict timetable. It had to be inspired by a spirit and an ideal. This was originally provided by the classics of Byzantine spirituality. Their lessons and wisdom were to be injected into the *typika*, but filtered through the founder's own experience. Just as this was intended as an inspiration for the round of monastic life, so the framework of rules and regulations contained in the *typika* were given meaning by the autobiography and meditations of the founder. The monastery was the sublimation of the founder's experience, concerns and ideals. The *typikon* provided a vehicle through which he could express his deepest emotions and needs. The monastery may have been poised between heaven and earth, but it was always a present reality. This meant that the distancing from reality, which has been condemned as a perennial fault of Byzantine literature,[121] is not so pronounced as in other more obviously literary forms. The monastery was the institution above all others which catered for Byzantine individuality. The *typika* which governed its day to day running provided one means for its literary expression.

In no formal sense can they be classed as literature, but they possess a literary potential. They provide an insight into the monastic life and mind vouchsafed by precious few works of literature. The literary potential of the Byzantine *typika* would finally be realized in the Old Serbian *Vitae*. The earliest of these was St Sava's *Life* of his father Stefan Nemanja. It was intended as a preface to the *typikon* of the monastery of Studenica.[122]

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[117] Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 2.

[118] Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 1–29.

[119] Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 4.

[120] Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 2.

[121] C. Mango, *Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror* (Oxford, 1975), reprinted in Mango, *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984) II.

[122] H. Birnbaum, 'Byzantine Tradition Transformed: the Old Serbian *Vita*', in *On Medieval and Renaissance Slavic literature* (The Hague, 1974), 299–340, esp. 300–305.

Part II

History of the present: contemporary interpretations in the later empire

4

Sorcery and politics at the Byzantine court in the twelfth century: interpretations of history

Richard Greenfield

Evidence has survived of quite a number of accusations of sorcery which occurred at the Byzantine court during the long span of its existence but examination of just three cases from the twelfth century may illustrate the value of different approaches to the interpretation of such episodes and hence their importance in furthering our understanding of Byzantine history.

The first case considered here is one reported by Theodore Balsamon which apparently took place some time between 1134 and 1143 and involved efforts made to save the life of Zoe, a member of the imperial family.[1] After this woman had fallen seriously ill and had been given up by her doctors, certain 'heathens' (ἐθνικοί) promised to cure her, alleging that her illness was due not to natural causes but rather to magic arts (μαγικῶν μαγγανειῶν). These people caused her servants to be questioned and then announced that there should be a search for the objects of sorcery which were supposedly producing her sickness; this resulted in the discovery of wax images (κηρόπλαστα εἴδωλα) hidden in corners. Balsamon alleges that the 'heathens' had themselves hidden the figurines, presumably to give credibility to their claims should Zoe have subsequently recovered; but, when she died, they quickly disappeared, leaving those of her kinsmen and servants who had not only employed them on this occasion but had apparently 'very often practised divination and believed wholeheartedly in the satanic rituals' to face a 'severe punishment'.[2]

The other two cases, which are slightly better documented, occurred in 1167 and 1172 and involved the disgrace of two prominent figures at the imperial court: Alexios Axouch, who was Manuel I's *protostrator*, and Isaac Aaron, the commander of the Varangian guard and a Latin interpreter to the emperor. Axouch was arrested and banished to a monastery on Mt Papikion in 1167 on

[1] Balsamon, Commentary on *Canon LXXXIII* of Saint Basil, *PG* 138.801c – 804a. The years are those during which Leon Styppes, whom Balsamon mentions in connection with the case, was patriarch.

[2] Balsamon's purpose in including the story is to illustrate differences in the canonical punishments laid down for involvement with magic and divination; others who were less deeply involved received a more moderate penalty.

various charges which included the allegation that he had used sorcery against Manuel. According to Niketas Choniates' rather scornful account he was said to have conducted sorceries (γοητείαι) intended to make him invisible and capable of flight so that he could murder Manuel;[3] John Kinnamos, on the other hand, claims that Axouch was involved over a period of time with a Latin-born sorcerer (γόητα) who supplied him with potions (φάρμακα) designed to prevent Manuel from fathering an heir.[4] In the second case details concerning the demonic works (δαιμονίοις ἔργοις) of which Isaac Aaron was convicted and for which he was blinded are provided by Choniates; he was caught devoting himself to magic practices (μαγείαις) and an artificial tortoise shell was discovered in his possession which concealed a human figurine (ἀνθρωπόμορφον) bound about the feet and pierced through the chest with a nail. A Solomonic book of magic was also found, designed to summon the demons in legions and make them hurry to perform whatever task they were given.[5]

It hardly needs stating that the study of historical records of the accusation, belief and practice of sorcery, magic and witchcraft has for some time now been established as a useful, if necessarily minor, tool of the genuine historian. Released by the methodology of social anthropology in particular from its earlier role as something of interest only to those who saw themselves as examining the traditions of esoteric or 'deviant' religious beliefs and the curiosities of 'popular superstition',[6] this study has been shown to provide valuable insights into the precise functioning of particular societies and subgroups where such concepts were known and employed. At the same time, this approach has been able to shed important light on the vastly complicated but vital area of the way in which people in historical societies saw the world around them and explained what happened in it; by examining historical

[3] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* ed. J.A. van Dieten, *CFHB* (Berlin/New York, 1975), 144; English translation by H. J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit, 1984). In recounting Axouch's banishment Choniates certainly has in mind the very similar treatment of Manuel's bastard son Alexios whose enforced tonsuring at the same monastery he himself supervised, 426–7.

[4] *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome*, ed. A. Meineke, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1836), VI.6, 267–8; English translation by C.M. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (New York, 1976). See also C. M. Brand, 'The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries', *DOP* 43 (1989), 9–10; and L. Oeconomos, *La vie religieuse dans l'empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (Paris, 1918), 78–9.

[5] Choniates, 146; Kinnamos VI.10, 284 and 11, 288. Also Oeconomos, *La vie religieuse*, 79–81. Other, major, parallel cases from the same general period are those of Michael Sikidites and Seth Skleros, Choniates, 147–50; cf. the more widespread allegations, which included Michael Palaiologos and his sister Maria, made under Theodore II Laskaris, G. Pachymeres, *De Michaele Palaeologo*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1835) I .12, 32–5; also the charges against Gangrene, the mistress of Michael II Angelos, Despot of Epiros, in Job Monachos, *Life of St Theodora of Arta*, *PG* 127.905C–908b; *Τὸ χρονικὸν τοῦ Γαλαξειδιοῦ*, ed. K. Sathas (Athens, 1895; repr. 1962), 198–200; and further D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957), 129–31.

[6] See e.g. L. Bréhier, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris, 1970 ed.), 243 and Oeconomos, *La vie religieuse*, ch. V, 65–102, who deals in detail with all these cases.

records in which magic, sorcery or witchcraft are reported, insight may be provided into the way in which different peoples at different times understood and came to terms with, among other things, the negative experiences and concepts of misfortune and more general evil. In other words, on this approach, the focus is shifted away from the 'what' of sorcery accusation, belief and practice, and placed instead on the 'who' and the 'why'.

The value and indeed the validity of the use of techniques derived from anthropology and ethnology in historical research, particularly in religious areas, has of course been a subject of serious disagreement.[7] While an unfortunate result of this debate has sometimes been a tendency towards an unhelpful polarization and exclusivity in the application of 'new' and 'classical' approaches, a subsequent more positive outcome must surely be the recognition that the value of both may be considerably increased when they are used in conjunction. The narrow application of either approach to the almost complete exclusion of the other may well result in a serious misuse of rich evidence.

A case in point may be the study of historical records of sorcery where the predominant employment of techniques of interpretation drawn from social anthropology may have tended to cast a shadow of doubt over the value of all examinations of the material which have not made use of them; while in some cases this is undoubtedly a good thing, in others it may itself obscure important evidence or hinder its retrieval. As will become apparent below, the treatment of records of sorcery in Byzantine history simply as evidence for the 'superstitious' nature of the Byzantine mind undoubtedly did a serious injustice both to the richness of the material and to the complexities of Byzantine religious thought; but to take the opposite approach and concentrate solely upon the evidence of social conflict and human relations to be gained from them would provide little fresh or meaningful insight in most cases, due to the all too frequent absence of necessary data, and it would thus do the material almost as great a disservice as previous approaches.

Even a passing, distorted and mocking reference to sorcery may thus be able to provide important, detailed information about contemporary beliefs and practices, particularly when it may be compared to specialized material such as that found in collections of sorcery texts and rituals. This kind of information is vital not only in establishing a better picture of Byzantine religious attitudes in their broadest sense (something which is indispensable for any appreciation of Byzantine culture as a *whole*), but also in adding to our knowledge of particular sorcery beliefs and practices; in order to appreciate the diversity of a religion or culture, the facts of that diversity have first to be established. Serious

[7] See here, for example, the discussion by M. Lauwers, ' "Religion populaire", culture folklorique, mentalités. Notes pour une anthropologie culturelle du moyen age', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 82 (1987), 221–58. More recent developments in the study of European witchcraft which involve an acculturational approach, rather than a strictly functionalist one based on social, structural considerations have little bearing on this paper; see B. Ankarloo and G. Henningsen (eds), *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford, 1990), 3.

study of the history of traditions of sorcery and related beliefs is thus not simply to be abandoned or dismissed (as some who favour the 'new' approach might appear to be suggesting) as a worthless exercise born out of the mistaken idea that the principal elements of Byzantine or any other medieval folk-culture are to be 'explained away' merely as curious survivals of pagan antiquity;[8] of course, to accept or seek 'explanations' of this sort would be to do a grave injustice to such beliefs and the people who held them as well as to misunderstand completely their role in medieval culture, but at the same time it cannot be denied that in most cases they *are* firmly rooted in the past. An understanding of the history of the tradition may thus be vital in understanding the details of the frequently blurred and distorted references to sorcery and the like; when evidence is as meagre as it usually is for such matters, it seems needlessly wasteful to leave unexplored any means of casting more light on them. Furthermore, if the most important thing for the historian in such situations is indeed to study the way in which a culture organized and utilized the materials which it had inherited,[9] to ignore this fact in relation to these cases of Byzantine sorcery would be quite wrong. As will be seen, what is referred to is not the magic of illiterate peasants but 'learned' sorcery derived from books; it is the magic of educated men who were not only aware that they were following a very long tradition in their sorcery but moreover, as in more orthodox aspects of the Byzantine religion, placed considerable value upon it. Much of the power of this sorcery was thus believed, by its practitioners, to lie in the precise and minute knowledge of detailed rituals thought to have been (and in at least some cases actually) passed down from 'Hellenic' or pagan times, while for its opponents in the Church its danger was also seen to lie precisely in the fact that it was believed to involve not only concepts but also actual demonic powers which came from that same 'Hellenic' or pagan past.

It seems clear that when these rather different approaches to the material are used in conjunction they may provide a comprehensive and valuable understanding of the records of sorcery preserved in Byzantine historical sources; when divorced the results are not nearly so satisfactory.

First, then, an examination of the historical tradition of the sorcery mentioned in these cases clarifies not only the details of what was going on but also casts light on the context of the allegations. Parallels to all the practices are found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century collections of Greek magic texts while many may be further related to their antecedents in the mainly fourth- and fifth-century Greek magical papyri;[10] a number of features are also paralleled in classical and Byzantine literature.

[8] Cf. Lauwers, 'Religion populaire', 234–7.

[9] Lauwers, 'Religion populaire', 237.

[10] The links between the two literatures have yet to be explored in detail although even the most cursory reading confirms beyond doubt that a connection does exist; on some links between divination practices see T. Hopfner, 'Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien', *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (Egypt Exploration Society, London, 1932), 218–32.

In two cases here, those of Zoe and Aaron, the use of figurines is mentioned; in the first they are apparently hidden in order to cause sickness, in the second a single image is bound and pierced for unspecified purposes. Detailed instructions for making images of wax and other materials are found in quite a number of places in the later Greek sorcery texts, and although these occur almost exclusively in love rituals,[11] or are used for a variety of relatively 'good' ends,[12] various literary stories, along with the papyri, confirm that they were also believed to be used for causing sickness and other evil purposes.[13] The hiding of the figurines in the Zoe story apparently forms part of the method of the sorcery in that their malevolent power was thought to work only if they were secreted near the victim, hence the importance of their discovery (whether genuine or contrived) by the 'heathens'; the practice of hiding figurines or other objects of sorcery in this way is paralleled in many places.[14] The concealment of the statuette in the Aaron episode seems to have had more to do with its safe keeping than its effect, but this is also a well known phenomenon in the practice of antique and medieval Greek sorcery[15] as, of course, is the piercing and binding to which it was subjected.[16]

[11] For wax and other images in love rituals see e.g. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (Liège/Paris, 1927), 459–60, 461 from the mostly fifteenth-century MS Parisinus Graecus 2419 f. 147; in the papyri see *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. H.D. Betz (Chicago, 1986), *PGM* IV.296–466, pp. 44–7; for such a spell found in actual use *PGM* CI.1–53, pp. 307–9; in Byzantine literature see the story in the *Vita* of Irene of Chrysobalanto, *AASS* July VI, 617–20. More detailed instructions about making wax and clay images for unspecified magic purposes are to be found in Delatte, *Anecdota*, 410–11 from the fifteenth century MS Harleianus 5596 of the British Museum. The number of parallels cited here and in subsequent notes has been kept to a minimum for the sake of brevity.

[12] See A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum* III, 41–6 from the sixteenth-century MS Mediolanensis E37 sup. f. 373; in the papyri, Betz, *Papyri*, *PGM* IV.2359–440, pp. 81–2.

[13] See especially Betz, *Papyri*, *PGM* CXXIV.1–43, p. 321. The story of Theophilos in the *Miracula SS. Cyri et Ioannis*, *PG* 87(3).3541–8, is a particularly clear literary example. Cf. the comment in the *de Daemonibus* formerly attributed to Psellos, P. Gautier, 'Le *de Daemonibus* du Pseudo-Psellos', *REB* 38 (1980), 173, lines 586–9, that the more stupid demons can be compelled by sorcerers to work terrible evils, 'having been bound by lead, wax and thin thread'. On the belief of Theodore II Laskaris that his illness was caused by 'a demon from magic' see Pachymeres I.12, 32; on the significance of this episode see n. 22 below.

[14] See the instructions already cited from Mediolanensis E37 sup. especially 44, lines 26–7 and 31, 45, lines 11–12, and 46, line 16; cf. a fifteenth-century exorcism from MS Parisinus Gr. 2316 ff. 435–6v, ed. E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire* II (Paris, 1881), xviii–xx, where numerous places in which magic objects could be secreted are mentioned. In the papyri see Betz, *Papyri*, *PGM* IV.2359–72, p. 81; in literature the stories of the Cypriot doctor Theodore, *Miracula SS. Cyri et Ioannis*, *PG* 87(3).3625, and the woman Anatole in the *Miracula S. Isaiae Prophetae*, ed. H. Delehaye, *AnBoll* 42 (1924), 264. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* II.69.

[15] See Mediolanensis E37 sup. p. 42.20; Delatte, *Anecdota*, 461.25; Betz, *Papyri*, *PGM* VII.862–918, pp. 141–2.

[16] See Delatte, *Anecdota*, 459–60 and 461; Betz, *Papyri*, *PGM* IV.296–334, p. 44 and *PGM* CXXIV.1–43, p. 321; also the story from the *Vita* of Irene of Chrysobalanto and that of Theophilos from the *Miracula SS. Cyri et Ioannis* cited above. In classical literature compare e.g. Ovid, *Heroides* VI.91, and *Amores* III.7.29. See further here R.P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988), 267–8.

The sorcery which Choniates mentions in relation to Axouch, intended to make him invisible and capable of flight, is probably best interpreted in the light of his scornful attitude to the whole case and is thus most likely to be drawn from the myth of Perseus in the classical literary tradition to which he refers; a few passages are, however, preserved in the texts which show that sorcerers were thought capable of possessing such powers and passing them on to their clients.[17] The charges according to Kinnamos, however, alleged that Axouch acquired magic potions and administered them to the emperor with the object of making him impotent; this problem seems to have been quite widely connected to sorcery at a somewhat later date and it may thus be that these accusations more accurately reflect those actually brought against him.[18]

Finally, the mention of a book of sorcery being found with Aaron's figurine confirms what would already be strongly suggested by the parallels cited: that the sorcery being referred to in all these cases belongs to the literary, learned tradition of Greek magic rather than some illiterate, oral tradition of 'popular' Byzantine culture. The document was thus almost certainly a Solomonic book of magic similar to some texts which survive from the fifteenth century and later of the *'Αποτελεσματικὴ πραγματεία* or *Solomon's Magic Treatise.*[19]

A second approach to these cases provides interesting evidence about the attitudes of Byzantines towards the power of sorcery in particular and about Byzantine religion in general. It cannot be doubted that the Byzantines saw themselves as, and indeed were, a Christian people, but it would be absurd to imagine that on every point all of them followed standard, accepted doctrine down to the very last letter.[20] Differences in all the many variables of such things as social status, background, or education affected each individual's attitude to and understanding of his 'Christianity' and consequently his willingness or even ability to see certain beliefs or practices as doctrinally acceptable or unacceptable. Traditionally, Byzantine religion, even more than

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[17] See Delatte, *Anecdota*, 448 from Parisinus Gr. 2419 f. 140v; *The Testament of Solomon*, ed. C. C. McCown (Leipzig, 1922), 81*.2–3 and 82*.6–7; Betz, *Papyri, PGM* I.222–231 and 247–62, pp. 9–10.

[18] Compare particularly here Pachymeres I.12, 34 where the bridegroom of Michael Palaiologos' niece alleges that his impotence is due to magic. Also Delatte, *Anecdota*, 612 from MS Bononiensis Univ. 3632 of the fifteenth-century, f. 362v; and W.H.D. Rouse, 'Folklore from the Southern Sporades', *Folklore* 10 (1899), 152, 154, cf. 156–61.

[19] Even the title in what is probably the earliest surviving version of this work, that in MS *Harleianus 5596*, refers to the summoning of spirits, while a brief glance at its contents would be enough to reveal that it was indeed designed to enable the sorcerer to summon the 'legions of demons' referred to in Choniates. Most texts are edited in Delatte, *Anecdota*, but see further on the contents and the tradition of the Greek versions: Greenfield, *Traditions*, 159–63. On its storage compare the incident described in document CCXCII of the Patriarchal Court, *MM* I, 544, where the fourteenth-century sorcerer Gabrielopoulos is said to have kept his books 'like pearls' in safe-boxes.

[20] Cf. here J. van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', *The American Historical Review* 91 (1986), 519–52.

the religion of the medieval West, has tended to be seen in the way it wished itself to be seen, that is, as an almost perfect exemplar of orthodox Christianity, and such flaws in the image as those represented by unorthodox religious practices and beliefs have usually been treated in much the same way as Byzantine theologians themselves treated them, simply as intrusive elements (whether surviving from the pagan past or imported from foreign cultures) which might be interesting (or, for the Byzantines, disgraceful) in themselves but which form no true part of 'real' Byzantine religion. Newer approaches to such questions, however, have stressed that a true understanding of any religion (and its cultural context) cannot be obtained without attempting to look at the whole picture in all its diversity, and thus it is only if the complete range of individual attitudes is taken into account that a more genuine and acceptable picture of Byzantine religion may be approached by the historian. It is thus not enough to treat the sorcery beliefs, which clearly form as much a part of Byzantine religion as, say, belief in miracle-working icons, in isolation from the rest.

The Church always seems to have found itself in a rather difficult position *vis-à-vis* sorcery. On the one hand orthodox Christianity was forced, by its belief that the power of the Devil and the demons had been destroyed at the Resurrection of Christ and that magic and sorcery operated solely through them, to maintain that the apparent abilities and powers of sorcerers were, in Christian times, merely an illusion. Doctrinally speaking, magic was a nonsense, yet another snare and delusion of the Devil to make people believe that he and his servants still possessed real power.[21] Belief in magic clearly continued to be a widespread phenomenon in the Byzantine world, however, and thus on the other hand the Church found itself forced to attack it vigorously in order not to be thought to be accepting the reality of magical powers. But the very vigour of this attack, coupled with the Church's admission that magic had once worked very powerfully, only tended to lend credence to the idea that it was still a real force to be reckoned with. This ambivalence revealed itself in a particularly wide and visible divergence in the attitudes of individuals in the Byzantine world towards magic and it is no surprise to find that something of this diversity is illustrated in the cases being examined here.

First of all, then, the fact that each of the three cases involves people who lived and worked in the very highest circles of Byzantine society makes it clear that belief in magic and sorcery was not a phenomenon confined to some sort of 'folk religion' which found its followers only or even chiefly in the uneducated and lower strata of Byzantine society.[22] Indeed, as has already been shown,

[21] Except in rare instances when they were permitted to have real power by God for some ulterior purpose. For the Church's position in general here see e.g. Pseudo-Anastasios, *Quaestiones* XX, *PG* 89.517c–532b.

[22] The point is made even more clearly by the belief of Theodore II Laskaris that he had been made ill by sorcery or by Andronikos Komnenos' employment of a convicted sorcerer, Seth Skleros, to carry out a lecanomancy.

the sort of magic involved here cannot be dismissed as 'popular superstition' but rather represents a learned, complex and highly sophisticated system of beliefs belonging to an ancient tradition which was recognized as originating at a time before Christianity was the dominant religious system. As such, many of its operators and users were by no means ignorant peasants but people of considerable education and high social status.

This is not, of course, to say that everyone believed wholeheartedly in such things, and something of the possible range of attitudes may be seen in those of the writers who preserve the records of the three cases. Choniates thus seems to follow the official church line quite closely: he sees nothing wrong with people being charged with sorcery and punished when convicted on reliable evidence – this is clearly the case, in his opinion, with the thoroughly wicked Aaron though not with the estimable Axouch – but he expresses doubts as to the actual efficacy of this sorcery and makes a number of disparaging remarks about it and those who believe in it.[23] Balsamon's attitude, however, matches more closely the actual situation in which the Church found itself. On the one hand he thus dismisses the 'heathens' in the Zoe case as charlatans who rig the whole affair, hiding the figurines so that they themselves might discover them and receive credit for the cure. On the other hand he warns, as the moral to the story, that people should not betray themselves to magic and sorcery, not (as perhaps might be expected) on the grounds that these are illusory devices of the Devil and demons designed to lead men astray, but because 'they destroy the health of body and soul'.[24] Finally, Kinnamos apparently accepts the charges against Axouch and Aaron as perfectly possible and reasonable given the evidence which had been produced against them; as far as he is concerned people could and did practise magic and they could thus be charged and condemned quite properly for doing so. There is no suggestion of any doubt that sorcery was an idle superstition or that it was contrary to Christian principles to believe in its efficacy.

Third, by using the approach which concentrates attention on accused and accusers, an interesting new insight is gained into the context in which these accusations were made. Almost 20 years ago now Peter Brown's valuable and fascinating examination of the phenomenon of sorcery accusation as a function of social relations in the Late Roman period undoubtedly set the tone for further research in this area.[25] The fact that his example has hardly been followed in

[23] Choniates, 144 and 339. Note, however, his apparent ambiguity when dealing with lecanomancy, for he clearly feels a need to denigrate the demons and is unwilling to reveal details of the magic at work; his stress is not that the divination does not work but that the demons are untrustworthy. On his superstition in general see Magoulias, *O City*, xx–xxiv.

[24] *PG* 138.803–804a.

[25] P. Brown, 'Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity from Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages', in *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*, ed. M. Douglas, A.S.A. Monographs 9 (London, 1970), 17–45.

the field of Byzantine sorcery and magic is doubtless due in part to the lack of scholarly interest in the subject,[26] but another factor is certainly the material itself. The evidence is often too sparse for this sort of approach to be applied successfully and, if it is attempted, the results do little more than state the obvious. Frustrating as it may be, one cannot be led by such a fascinating and largely successful study as Brown's into believing that an application of precisely the same methodology to other cases of Byzantine or medieval sorcery accusation will yield the same rich results or will even be possible. As has been stressed above, however, the very awareness that such an approach exists is important in itself. When cases of sorcery accusation are mentioned in the historical record it is clear that, even if the detailed social fabric of the situation has now been irretrievably lost, behind the simple fact of the accusation there almost certainly once lay a deep, murky pool of hostility and strained relations; once we are aware of this, we are encouraged to look beneath the apparently simple charges, sometimes with surprising results.

The three cases of sorcery accusation in question here provide a good example of both the shortcomings and advantages of using this approach. When looked at along the same lines as Brown used in his study, the results are at first discouraging. As with the cases he examines, the situation is not one in which general misfortune is being met with general sorcery accusation, nor is there any evidence that there was an increase in such charges at this time. The accusations *are* all made by officials and nobles within the inner court circle, and they do doubtless provide evidence of 'pockets of uncertainty and competition',[27] but the existence of serious tensions at the Komnenian court is already well known and little is added to our understanding of the situation in this way. At this point Brown had sufficient material to go further and show that in the situation he was examining the accusations resulted from a clash between men in fixed/articulate and ambiguous/inarticulate positions of power, but here there are simply not enough data to establish any clear pattern in the precise social situation of either accused or accusers.[28]

Enough is perhaps known about Aaron to classify him as indeed a classic example of an 'outsider' in a position of considerable but definitely ambiguous power and influence.[29] Axouch's situation may also be established quite

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[26] D. de F. Abrahamse, 'Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period', *ByzForsch* 7 (1982), 3–17 is a notable exception.

[27] Brown, 'Sorcery,' 25.

[28] Brown, 'Sorcery,' 35–6, concludes his paper with a discussion of the development of the *witch* figure in his period, the person who is seen as inherently evil by birth or achievement. It should be noted however that this concept never occupied a major place in Byzantine belief which remained almost exclusively preoccupied with sorcery. On this point see Greenfield, *Traditions*, 249–51; cf. Abrahamse, 'Magic and Sorcery', 15.

[29] Note the simple fact that he is characterized by Choniates as innately evil and poisonous, 147 and by Kinnamos as 'a really presumptuous and bragging fellow', VI.10, 284, Brand, *Deeds*, 212.

accurately, but while he might again have been regarded by some as a *parvenu* he cannot be placed in exactly the same category as Aaron. In the third case no individuals are named and the precise position of Zoe's relatives remains obscure. Moreover, in two of the three cases the actual sorcerers were not the accused themselves but professionals hired by them, and nothing at all is known of them beyond the possibly significant fact that they were foreigners of some sort, be it Western or 'heathen'. As far as the accusers go the picture is even hazier: in the Zoe case they are as anonymous as the accused; the individuals who brought the charges against Aaron are also unknown; and although the names of several accusers are preserved in Axouch's case there is little to be gleaned from this information except as it concerns Aaron, who was himself apparently instrumental in the affair.[30]

The lack of evidence thus allows no particularly useful conclusions to be drawn concerning the social factors at work in these Byzantine cases of sorcery accusation, but this does not mean that approaching the evidence in this way is a waste of time. On the contrary, by focusing attention on the characters involved, this approach brings to light a significant fact about them which might otherwise have gone unnoticed: in all three cases the political affiliations of the accused may well have had a bearing on the charges brought against them. Unlike Brown's Late Antique examples, the desire to suppress political opposition would seem to have played an important part in sorcery accusation at the Komnenian court.

Significantly, the allegations of sorcery made against Axouch and Aaron were in both cases accompanied by others involving political intrigue or disloyalty. Choniates thus makes inferences about Manuel's mistrust of Axouch's popularity with the military and his ability to get things done as well as his desire for his *protostrator*'s wealth,[31] while Kinnamos provides more detailed charges that Axouch had been plotting for some time against the emperor with various people, including the Sultan of Ikonion, and was finally accused of arranging a coup to be staged by Cuman mercenaries.[32] Aaron, on the other hand, was charged with double-crossing the emperor in his dealings with the Latins and compromising imperial plans. Choniates alleges that Aaron dissuaded a Western delegation from coming to an agreement with Manuel who was unaware of what was going on until his Latin-speaking wife Maria of Antioch revealed his interpreter's deceit; Kinnamos singles out an occasion on which Aaron is alleged to have warned a Venetian raiding party on Chios that a Byzantine fleet was lying in wait for them.[33]

[30] Kinnamos VI.6, 269 lists John Doukas, Michael 'the logothete', the eunuch Thomas (clearly another 'outsider'), and Nikephoros Kaspax, a 'judge of the velum'.

[31] Choniates, 144 and 427.

[32] Kinnamos IV.6, 265–70. See also Brand, 'Turkish Element', 9–10; he dismisses the sorcery charges, perhaps rather hastily, as 'banal in twelfth-century Byzantium'.

[33] Choniates, 146–7; Kinnamos VI.10, 285–6.

When the wider context of all these charges is examined it becomes apparent that both Alexios Axouch and Aaron were important figures in a struggle for influence at Manuel's court between pro-Eastern and pro-Western factions, a struggle which inevitably involved the question of the succession in the years before Manuel's son Alexios was born and so, too, the position of his cousin, rival, and ultimate successor, Andronikos.[34] Alexios Axouch's father, John, was a Turk by birth who had been brought up with John II Komnenos and had later become grand domestic, but his influence and power as well, no doubt, as his foreign birth had made him a prime target for the envy and hostility of other factions within the imperial family.[35] Alexios Axouch, who was himself married into the imperial clan and who maintained the family's distinguished position, particularly in leading Byzantine armies in Italy in 1157–8, was doubtless subject to many of the same hostilities as his father.[36] Futhermore, he seems to have maintained a strong interest and involvement with the Eastern neighbours of the empire and this, together with his racial origin, may well have brought him into opposition with an increasingly powerful pro-Western faction at Manuel's court which ultimately succeeded in directing the emperor's suspicions againt him. Kinnamos' allegations that Alexios decorated his house with murals commemorating the deeds of the sultan of Ikonion and that he was involved in a plot with the Seljuk ruler may thus indeed indicate his political leanings, if not his actual disloyalty, and there may also be grounds for supposing that he was associated with Andronikos Komnenos who of course had strong Eastern ties and was regarded with the greatest mistrust by Manuel. It may thus be no accident that imperial suspicion of Alexios seems to have been aroused after Andronikos' behaviour in the East had incurred Manuel's wrath and he had fled Byzantine territory,[37] and at a time when the court seems to have been split into pro- and anti-Western factions by Manuel's decision that his daughter's fiancé, the Hungarian Bela, should succeed him if he died without a son of his own. If Alexios Axouch was indeed a prominent member of a group within the imperial circle which resented mounting Western influence at the court, then his downfall may be intimately connected with a rise in his opponents' influence at this time. In that case the allegation that he was involved in sorcery to prevent Manuel from producing an heir of his own would indeed make sense, as would the fact that his main accuser, according to Choniates, was none other than Isaac Aaron, himself an influential figure in the pro-Latin group.[38]

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[34] See further here M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204* (London/New York, 1984), 190–91, 203–4, 220–23. Brand, 'Turkish Element', 10, agrees (with Niketas) that Axouch is to be seen as the victim of a faction at the court; see also 16, 24.

[35] Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, 152–3; Brand, 'Turkish Element', 4–6, 22–3.

[36] Choniates, 97, 98, 103, 144; Kinnamos IV.14, 170; Brand, 'Turkish Element', 23–4.

[37] Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, 222.

[38] Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, 203–4, 222–3.

Isaac Aaron was born at Corinth but had been captured as a child and taken to Sicily where he had become fluent in Latin. His linguistic abilities and his Latin connections seem to have assisted him in rising to a position of considerable power at the Byzantine court at a time when the number and influence of Westerners there was increasing. This trend was not, however, welcomed by everyone, and Aaron must certainly have found himself at odds with men like Axouch, who mistrusted the Latins and favoured instead Byzantine links with the East; Niketas Choniates was himself against the growing Latin influence in Constantinople and this may help to explain his hostility towards Aaron. Just as Axouch's banishment may thus mark a victory for the pro-Westerners at the Komnenian court, Aaron's own betrayal and subsequent blinding may also represent a loss of their influence following the birth of an heir to Manuel in 1169. It is possible, however, that Aaron's fall from favour involved other factional conflicts and it may thus be significant that it was the empress Maria who was apparently behind it, for Maria's stock undoubtedly rose following the birth of her son. Again, the fact that Aaron was later to regain a position of great influence under Andronikos might suggest that there could already have been suspicions of a connection to the man who would eventually pose the most obvious and indeed fatal threat to the young heir.[39]

When the Zoe case is re-examined with the political background to the accusations against Axouch and Aaron in mind, a number of interesting parallels emerge. Balsamon says nothing about Zoe except that she was married to Alexios Komnenos, the son of the *sebastokrator,* but the fact that her husband was the son of Isaac Komnenos, the brother of the reigning emperor John II, is most interesting in itself.[40] This is because it associates her and, most importantly, her kinsfolk and servants, who were the ones actually accused of involvement in sorcery and punished for it, with a faction in the imperial family which was in open opposition to John II for much of the period between 1134 and 1143 during which the incident must have taken place, and whose opposition persisted under Manuel I.

John II's brother, the *sebastokrator* Isaac, had helped him secure the throne in 1118 but by 1130 they had fallen out and Isaac had gone into exile, travelling between various Eastern courts where he attempted to stir up the support he needed to seize power.[41] Eight years later, in 1138, with his dreams apparently further than ever from fulfilment, Isaac threw himself on his brother's mercy, was forgiven and returned to Constantinople,[42] but neither his ambitions nor John's suspicions would seem to have been laid to rest by this reconciliation. In 1140 hostility between the two branches of the ruling family surfaced again

[39] Choniates, 147.

[40] On the identification of this Alexios as John II's nephew and not his eldest son see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes* II (1) (Paris, 1912; repr. New York, n.d.), 13 and n. 2.

[41] Choniates, 8–9, 32.

[42] Choniates, 32–3; Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, 152–3.

when Isaac's eldest son John defected to the Turks in the middle of a battle, betraying embarrassing military secrets which wrecked his uncle's campaign;[43] at about the same time Isaac was exiled to Heraklea in Pontos and it would perhaps seem reasonable to draw a connection between the two events.[44] He remained there until after 1143 when Manuel was safely on the throne and apparently felt secure enough to recall him, but both he and his other son Andronikos, as has already been mentioned, continued to cause problems for the ruling branch of the family.[45] The fact that the Zoe of Balsamon's story was thus closely linked with a faction in the Komnenian household which was almost certainly in open, or ill-disguised, opposition to John II at the time this incident occurred, and which had, incidentally, very strong Eastern connections, perhaps entitles one to wonder if the sorcery accusations surrounding her death may not have had as much to do with politics as those brought against Alexios Axouch and Isaac Aaron.[46]

The three cases of sorcery accusation examined here may appear, at first sight, to contain relatively little of interest to the historian, and if the various approaches outlined above were applied to them individually, the results might tend to strengthen this impression. When, however, they are used in conjunction a considerable range of information is revealed: not only may more be learnt about the details of sorcery belief at the time and about more general Byzantine religious attitudes, but fresh insight is also provided into the existence and the handling of political rivalries at the Byzantine court, something which should perhaps be borne in mind when examining other similar incidents.

[43] Choniates, 356, 53.

[44] Kinnamos II.2, 32.

[45] Kinnamos II.7, 53–4.

[46] The sorcery accusations made during the reign of Theodore II Laskaris show even more clearly a desire to counter political opposition.

5

Byzantine scholars and the Union of Lyons (1274)

Constantine N. Constantinides

The aim of this paper is to examine briefly the role of some Byzantine scholars in the period before and after the Union of Lyons, which, it is assumed, was forced on Michael VIII Palaiologos by political pressure from the West, in particular by Charles of Anjou.[1] It was in order to offset any impending attack from that quarter that Michael, who for more than a decade had succeeded in putting off the actual signing of the union, finally gave in and accepted it on the terms stipulated by Pope Gregory X.[2]

The general Byzantine reaction to the Union was fiercely hostile. It came not only from monks and the zealot Arsenites who had defied the emperor since his usurpation and the blinding of the legitimate heir to the throne, John IV Laskaris, but also from the ordinary people, and even from the aristocracy and members of his own family.[3] However, despite this general rejection of the

[1] The Union of Lyons is both well documented and well studied by modern scholars. The following studies contain editions of texts relevant to the Union of Lyons; all other studies are referred to in the appropriate place: B. Roberg, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)*, Bonner Historische Forschungen, 24 (Bonn, 1964); J. Gill, 'The Church Union of the Council of Lyons (1274) Portrayed in Greek Documents', *OCP* 40 (1974), 5–45; V. Laurent et J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273–1277)*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 16 (Paris, 1976); A.L. Tăutu, *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (1261–1276)*, Pontificia commissio ad redigendum CIC orientalis, Fontes, Series III, vol. V, tom. I, (Vatican, 1953); R.-J. Loenertz, 'Mémoire d'Ogier, protonotaire, pour Marco et Marchetto nonces de Michel VIII Paléologue auprès du Pape Nicholas III, 1278 printemps-été', *OCP* 31 (1965), 374–408.

[2] D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London, 1972), 50–61; Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches: The Preliminaries to the Second Council of Lyons, 1261–1274', in *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn*, ed. J.A. Watt, et al. (Dublin, 1961), 454–80; Roberg, *Union*; H. Evert-Kappesowa, 'La société Byzantine et l'Union de Lyon', *BSl* 10 (1949), 28–41; D.J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West (1258–1282), A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 189ff.

[3] Pachymeres, *Relations Historiques*, ed. A. Failler, (Paris, 1984), VI, 30, 637, 15–18: παρὰ μόνον γὰρ βασιλέα καὶ πατριάρχην καί τινας τῶν περὶ αὐτούς, πάντες ἐδυσμέναινον τῇ εἰρήνῃ, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι καὶ ποιναῖς ἀλλοκότοις ἤθελεν ἀσφαλίζεσθαι ταύτην ὁ βασιλεύς, Gregoras, *Historia* (*CSHB*) I, V, 2, 126, 5ff.; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 58 and 67ff.; Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274', in *Studies in Church History* VII, ed. G.J. Cuming and D. Baker (Cambridge, 1971), 122–3; H. Evert-Kappesowa, 'La société Byzantine', 32–3.

Union, Michael VIII succeeded in enthroning a unionist patriarch, John XI Bekkos, who together with two other officials, the archdeacons Constantine Meliteniotes and George Metochites, continued to support the Union even after it was renounced by both the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches.[4]

What was the stance taken by some distinguished intellectuals during this critical period? Higher education in Byzantium was patronized by both Church and State. It was from the ranks of this educated section of society that they both recruited their officials.[5] Some of these were prominent intellectuals who grouped either around the emperor or the patriarch, or both, and formed a close society.[6] Therefore, it is important to ask how far it was possible for these officials to adopt an independent position *vis-à-vis* the policies of the emperor, and how many of those tried to do so.

The man who played a prominent role in the negotiations for the Union was George Akropolites. Scholar, historian and statesman, he was born in the Latin-controlled Constantinople in 1217, but was educated in Nicaea. He was a beneficiary of the Laskarids and held imperial offices under John III Vatatzes and Theodore II Laskaris.[7] He does not seem to have been implicated in the change of dynasty in 1258, because at that time he was imprisoned in Arta. Liberated by Michael VIII Palaiologos after the battle of Pelagonia, he accepted from him the office of Grand Logothete and gave his support to him as is attested in his history, where his evaluation of events is favourable to the usurper.[8] In appreciation of his talents, and one must assume also of his services, Michael VIII released him from some of his duties in order to enable him to devote most of his time to teaching in the higher imperial school, established soon after the recovery of Constantinople in 1261.[9]

So far as the Union was concerned, Akropolites took an active part in 1273 by his efforts to convince the clergy to accept Michael VIII's policy, and later it was he who represented the emperor at the Second Council of Lyons and took the oath of Union on his behalf.[10] For a man who at an earlier age had

[4] Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction', 127–8; A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium. The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–1289)* (New York, 1983), 55ff.

[5] C.N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204–ca. 1310)* (Nicosia, 1982), 148.

[6] Constantinides, *Education*, 148–51.

[7] On the life and career of George Akropolites see Georgii Acropolitae, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, II, III–XXVI; R. Macrides, *A Translation and Historical Commentary of George Akropolites' History* (PhD thesis, University of London, 1978), 26–42; Constantinides, *Education*, passim.

[8] Akropolites (ed. Heisenberg) I, 150, 7ff.; II, IX–X.

[9] W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre patriarche de Constantinople (1283–1289)* (Brussels–Rome, 1937), 185, 7–13; Constantinides, *Education*, 32 with further references.

[10] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) V, 13, 483, 15–24. In fact Akropolites appeared before the Synod and tried to condemn the *chartophylax* John Bekkos, who was the leader of the opposition to union in 1273. See also Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 61; Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union', 467; Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction', 120; Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, 262; Evert-Kappesowa, 'Une page de relations Byzantino-Latines, I. Byzance et le St Siège à l'époque de l'Union de Lyon', *BSl* 16 (1955), 308.

composed two polemical works against the Latins, his subsequent conduct raises certain doubts.[11] Was he in fact converted to the Union or was he toeing the line out of expediency, be it personal or political? Personal expediency might have been a motive, in that as a civil servant who wished to keep his post, there was no other alternative for him. After all, he succeeded in serving three emperors for nearly 40 years despite changing circumstances.[12] On the other hand, he may have sincerely believed that Michael's policy was the only means of ensuring the survival of the empire against its enemies. Although there is no conclusive proof for any of these views, the existing evidence points to the assumption that his conversion was not long-lasting. Despite Pachymeres' criticism, Akropolites does not seem to have played a leading role after the Union of Lyons.[13] In contrast, his own son, Constantine Akropolites, was an ardent anti-unionist and openly expressed his disagreement with the imperial policy.[14] This might be an indication – although one cannot judge the father on the basis of the son's beliefs – that Akropolites was not entirely committed to the idea and that he was far from being an ardent unionist. We have no confession from him, because he died shortly before the emperor in 1282. He never stood trial for his role in the Union and never gave his reasons for extending his support to the cause.[15] The fact, however, that some of his writings were burnt by the anti-unionists early in 1283 indicates that he might have expressed his views in writing.[16] The burning of his works was a *post mortem damnatio.*

The most famous of Akropolites' students was George-Gregory of Cyprus.[17] His ambiguous role in the religious conflicts of the 1270s and 1280s deserves more attention. For, while contemporary sources refer to him as a principal supporter of Michael VIII's policy, he became the orthodox patriarch of Con-

[11] Akropolites, II, 30ff. These two works against the Latins were composed ca. 1257–9, when Akropolites ἐν τῇ Δύσει κατάσχετος ἦν; see Akropolites, II, X. Akropolites was liberated in 1259, see Akropolites I, 164, 19ff. and II, X–XI; Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union', 477; Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction', 126.

[12] On his career in Nicaea and then in Constantinople see above n. 7.

[13] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) IV, 28, 409, 23–5. Even the emperor had less and less interest in Church affairs after Lyons. See Pachymeres (ed. Failler) V, 24, 515, 21–5; cf. Papadakis, *Crisis*, 19. The affairs of the Church were carried out by the patriarch Bekkos, 'full of experience and abundant wisdom'.

[14] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) VI, 26, 625.15–627.6.

[15] Pachymeres (ed. I. Bekker) *CSHB* (Bonn, 1835) II, 12, 11.

[16] Pachymeres (*CSHB*) II, 27, 5–8. It seems that Akropolites' work which was burnt contained citations from the Fathers in favour of the Latin creed; cf. Pachymeres (*CSHB*) II, 26, 12ff. Akropolites' son Constantine claimed in the late 1290s that he possessed no work of his father's writings; see his letter no. 96 ed. by H. Delehaye, 'Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi Byzantini epistularum manipulus', *AnBoll* 51 (1933), 275: μέμνησαι πάντως, ὡς ἔφην σοι ... οὐδὲν τῶν τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ πονηθέντων εὑρίσκεσθαι παρ' ἐμοί.

[17] For his studies under Akropolites see Constantinides, *Education*, 32ff. with further bibliography. See now C.N. Constantinides, 'Some Notes on the Correspondence of Gregory of Cyprus', *Epeteris of the Cyprus Research Centre* 18 (1991), 105–15, esp. 105–6, n.1.

stantinople in 1283, and it was he who condemned the unionists.[18] Although Pachymeres,[19] the monk Methodios,[20] and the unionists John Bekkos[21] and George Metochites[22] accused him of being a unionist, his signature, as far as one is aware, appears in no document favouring the Union of the Churches and although he evidently knew Latin, he was never sent on any embassy to the West.[23] On the other hand, he composed an encomium for Michael VIII, but this was written prior to the Union of the Churches and apart from a general reference at the end of this eulogy against 'all those opposing the emperor's policies at present' – which probably refers to the Arsenites – nothing exists in this work or any other written by him in favour of the Union.[24] In his encomium of Andronikos II, composed c. 1284, Gregory, then patriarch of Constantinople, tries to defend the emperor's conduct towards the Union during his joint rule with his father.[25] By implication he defends his own participation in the palace meetings and in the decision adopted in favour of the Union.[26] In his *Autobiography* he goes even further, saying that during the 'innovations in dogma and the trouble in the Church' he had fears for his own life.[27]

Had he heen implicated in the Union as his accusers suggest, one would expect strong opposition to his election as patriarch in the spring of 1283. Yet no accusation was brought against him as a unionist.[28] The fact that he was present at the deposition of Bekkos,[29] and had close relations with both the

[18] Pachymeres (*CSHB*) II, 42, 15–18; Papadakis, *Crisis*, 34.

[19] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) V, 12, 479, 17–18; V, 14, 485, 15–18; V, 20, 501, 24–5.

[20] Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier Grec*, 521, 7ff.

[21] Papadakis, *Crisis*, 34.

[22] George Metochites, *Historia Dogmatica*, ed. A. Mai, *Patrum Novae Bibliothecae*, VIII, pt 2 (Rome, 1871), 36–7.

[23] For his studies in a Latin school in Cyprus, see Lameere, *Tradition*, 177.16–179.15; cf. Constantinides, *Education*, 25. Those who participated in embassies to the West and took part in liturgies held by the Pope were condemned in 1283; see Pachymeres (*CSHB*) II,I, 6, 21.19–22.6. In 1277 a certain George who held the office *epi tōn deēsēon* signed together with other church officials a document in favour of the Union; there is no evidence, however, to suggest that he is to be identified with George of Cyprus, who seems not ever to have held that office; see Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier Grec*, 471, 24.

[24] J.F. Boissonade, (ed.), *Anecdota Graeca*, I (Paris, 1829), 358: ἐξώλης δὲ καὶ προώλης ὀλέσθαι, ὅσοι τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμης ἀπ' ἐναντίας εἴτε νυνὶ φρονοῦσιν, εἴτε μετὰ ταῦτα φρονῆσαι νοήσουσιν.

[25] Boissonade, I, 380–4, esp. 381: Βουλὴν μὲν οὖν ἐποιήσαμεν, καὶ οὐ διὰ Θεοῦ, καὶ συνθήκην, καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ ... καὶ δέκα ἐξῆς ἔτη ὀπίσω τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν ἐπορεύθημεν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ παραβολὴ καὶ ὄνειδος καὶ χλεύη καὶ μυκτηρισμὸς τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ κύκλῳ ἡμῶν ἐγεγόνειμεν. Cf. Nikephoros Choumnos' encomium for Andronikos II, Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, II (Paris, 1830), 52–5.

[26] Papadakis, *Crisis*, 36.

[27] Lameere, *Tradition*, 187, 20–22: οἱ περὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀπείρξαν φόβοι οὓς αὐτῷ τε καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ἡ περὶ τὰ δόγματα καινοτομία καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπέστησε ζάλη.

[28] Papadakis, *Crisis*, 36–7 and references.

[29] Pachymeres (*CSHB*) II, 25, 13ff.

Arsenites like Theodora Raoulaina,[30] and anti-unionists such as Maximos Holobolos[31] and Theodore Mouzalon, who was also one of his students,[32] is perhaps an indication that the scholar George of Cyprus quickly withdrew from the unionist party and devoted himself mainly to his teaching in the monastery of Akataleptos rather than frequenting the imperial circles.[33] In fact, all the evidence we possess regarding his pro-unionist attitude refers to the period before Lyons.

If the lay intellectuals showed themselves more flexible towards Michael VIII's pro-unionist policy, the circle which consisted of the teachers and the students of the Patriarchal School as well as the officials of the Church proved otherwise. The most prominent of these, who was later to suffer for his disagreement with the emperor, was Maximos Holobolos. Years before, about 1261/62, when he was an imperial secretary, he had been mutilated on the orders of Michael VIII because of his loyalty to the blinded and deposed John IV Laskaris, and was forced to enter the monastic estate.[34] In 1265, however, he was pardoned by the emperor and became *rhetor* of the Church and head of the re-established Patriarchal School and a supporter of Michael VIII.[35] But it was after 1272 that Holobolos and other Church officials found themselves unable to support the emperor any longer in his efforts for union.[36]

In 1273, when Michael VIII desperately needed all the support he could get to convince both his officials and the higher clergy of the necessity of sending a delegation to the church council which was to be held the following year at Lyons, Holobolos disassociated himself from these attempts and declared himself for the anti-unionists. Pachymeres gives details of the meeting which

[30] On his close relation with the princess nun Theodora Raoulaina see S. Kougeas, 'Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydideshandschrift Augustanus F.', *BZ* 16 (1907), 588–609; Constantinides, *Education*, 43–4, 46, 140, 147. George-Gregory of Cyprus addressed to Raoulaina at least 30 letters, 23 of which are still unpublished; see now Constantinides, 'Correspondence of Gregory of Cyprus', 11–12, and n. 42.

[31] Holobolos is the addressee of three letters from George of Cyprus, nos 92, 96, 122 (Lameere, *Tradition*, nos 95, 99, 135), of which the last was written during his patriarchate. From a letter to the emperor Andronikos II, no. 137 (Lameere, no. 150) it becomes obvious that Holobolos assisted the patriarch Gregory at least in the initial stages of his elevation to the patriarchal throne; S. Eustratiades (ed.) in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 4 (1909), 24–5; see also V. Laurent, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I: *Les actes de patriarches*, fasc. IV: *Les regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), no. 1527, p. 319.

[32] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) I, VI, 26, 625.16–627.6; (*CSHB*) II, 1,1, 12, 9–12 and II, 1, 2, 15, 4–6; C.N. Constantinides, 'George of Cyprus as a Teacher', *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Β΄ Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, II (Nicosia, 1986), 433. See also George of Cyprus' letter no. 118 (Lameere, no. 131) in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 3 (1909), 284–5.

[33] For George of Cyprus' teaching see Constantinides, 'George of Cyprus as a Teacher', 432–9; Constantinides, *Education*, 35–49.

[34] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) I, III, 11, 259.

[35] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) IV, 14, 369.5–371.5; Constantinides, *Education*, 52–3.

[36] Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union', 463ff.; H. Evert-Kappesowa, 'Byzance et le St Siège', 303–5.

took place at the palace where Holobolos, while expected to support the emperor's policy, presented the Orthodox views. He was arrested and exiled to the monastery of Hyakinthos in Nicaea.[37] However, the patriarch and the higher clergy continued to be opposed to Michael VIII's policy. The emperor went on the offensive. On 6 October 1273 the people of Constantinople witnessed a brutal flogging of the *rhetor* of the Church, Maximos Holobolos, who was brought back from Nicaea for this purpose, together with the monk Job Iasites and eight others.[38] Shortly after the emperor issued a chrysobull where he stated that he was not prepared to accept changes in Orthodox dogma. The frightened clergy succumbed, and the patriarch Joseph I withdrew to the monastery of Peribleptos. Only then did the emperor manage to send a small delegation to the Council of Lyons, if this name can be applied to the mission which left Constantinople for the West in March 1274. Nevertheless, at the Council of Lyons there was no discussion of the differences which divided the two Churches, and the Union was signed in accordance with the views of the Latin Church. Some time after the return of the delegates the patriarch Joseph, as had been agreed with the emperor, resigned from office, thus giving a free hand to the emperor to influence the election of the unionist John Bekkos.[39] The punishment of Holobolos initiated a period of oppression, and opposition to the Union could be expressed only in secret. The case of George Moschabar, professor of the Gospel at the Patriarchal School, is one of many at that time when the anti-unionist *libelloi* were circulated anonymously in the capital.[40] Even former supporters of the emperor's policy preferred to keep some distance from the main events. Thus, the emperor was left to go his own way with a few unionist officials of the Church, and every reaction against the Union was dealt with harshly.

The reign of terror in the capital which followed is well described by the historian George Pachymeres.[41] In the report of Ogerius *prōtonotarius*, composed in 1278 for the benefit of two papal legates, we have the names of some

[37] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) V, 20, 501.20–503.19.

[38] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) V, 20, 503.20–505.7, where Pachymeres gives the details of this public flogging of Holobolos.

[39] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) V, 24, 515, 9–21. According to Pachymeres, Michael VIII preferred Bekkos for the patriarchal throne: ὅτι λόγιος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ καταστέλλειν ἔχοι τὸ σχίσμα τῇ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πολυχρονίῳ πείρᾳ καὶ λογιότητι. See also Gregoras, *Historia* (*CSHB*) I, V, 2, 125, 20–3; Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union', 474; Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction',121–2.

[40] On George Moschabar see V. Laurent, 'Un polémiste grec de la fin du XIII^{e} siècle. La vie et les oeuvres de Georges Moschabar', *EO* 28 (1929), 129–58, esp. 147ff.; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur* (Munich, 1959), 677–8; Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction', 134–5 and references. For the opposition to the Union by the Church officials Michael Eskammatismenos and Pentekklesiotes see *PG* 141.285CD.

[41] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) V, 23, 511–3; VI, 16, 581; VI, 24–6, 611–27; Gregoras, *Historia* (*CSHB*) I, V, 2, 127.12–128.6; cf. Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union', 479; Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction', 129–35.

imprisoned anti-unionists. None of them was a scholar; they were military men and aristocrats or relatives of the emperor Michael VIII.[42]

A fortnight after Michael VIII's death in December 1282, his son Andronikos officially renounced the Union and had the patriarch John Bekkos arrested and replaced by his predecessor Joseph.[43]At that moment of triumph for Orthodoxy, when prisoners were released and persecuted monks became the heroes of the day, only the clerical supporters of the Union who had accepted episcopal sees or other ecclesiastical offices were condemned.[44] For example Theodore Skoutariotes, the bibliophile who became bishop of Kyzikos, took refuge in the monastery of Prodromos to avoid public mocking by the monks and imperial servants,[45] while the patriarch of Antioch Theodosios IV Prinkips sent his resignation to the emperor and left for Syria.[46] Similarly, pressure was brought to bear on scholars who had been employed in the civil service and given their support to the emperor's unionist policy, like Maximos Planoudes. After Michael VIII's death Planoudes had to abandon his career and enter the monastic life, while others considered it useful to compose anti-Latin works on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.[47] The scholars, however, who publicly opposed the Union, like Theodore Mouzalon, were to play a significant role in the theological, political and cultural events of the early years of Andronikos II's reign.[48]

The conclusion to be drawn from this brief survey of the attitudes of Byzantine scholars towards the Union of Lyons can only be provisional at this stage of the research. But it appears that nearly all the educated officials of the Church and State initially accepted Michael VIII's efforts towards union. When, however, union was about to be agreed on the terms of the Latin Church, without any theological discussion of the differences that divided the

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[42] R.-J. Loenertz (ed.), 'Mémoire d'Ogier, protonotaire', 374–408; see also D. M. Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches: The Report of Ogerius, Protonotarius of Michael VIII Palaiologos', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 63, Sec. C, No. 1 (Dublin, 1962), 1–16.

[43] Pachymeres (*CSHB*) II, I, 2–5, 14–19, esp. 19, 6–17; Gregoras, *Historia* (*CSHB*) I, 160; Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction', 138–9.

[44] Pachymeres (*CSHB*) II, I, 5–9, 19–27; see esp. p. 21, 15–22, 6 (21, 16–19): ἀρχιερεῦσι μὲν καὶ κληρικοῖς τρίμηνον καιρὸν προστιμῶντες, λαικοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς κοινωνίας, πλὴν ἐπ' ἔλαττον τὰ τῶν ἐπιτιμημάτων τάττοντες, Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction', 139–40; H. Evert-Kappesowa, 'Une page de l'histoire des relations Byzantino-Latines, II: La fin de l'Union de Lyon', *BSl* 17 (1956), 6ff.

[45] Pachymeres (*CSHB*) II, 17, 53.9–54.9.

[46] Pachymeres (*CSHB*) II, 19, 55.15–56.3; cf. C.N. Constantinides, 'Ο βιβλιόφιλος Πατριάρχης 'Αντιόχειας Θεοδόσιος IV Πρίγκιψ (1275?–1283), *Epeteris of the Cyprus Research Centre* 11 (1981–2), 378.

[47] Constantinides, *Education*, 66–8 and notes 4–11.

[48] The Grand Logothete and *prōtovestiarios* Theodore Mouzalon played an important role in the theological discussions of the 1280s and was a leading scholar until his death in 1293. Constantine Akropolites, the son of George Akropolites, who publicly refused to collaborate with Michael VIII's policy, was given the office of logothete *tou genikou* and subsequently that of *megas logothetēs*.

two Churches, the officials of the Church, led by the professors of the Patriarchal School, withheld their support and strongly opposed Michael VIII's policy. The officials of the State, on the other hand, following George Akropolites's lead, silently accepted the Union, but gradually withdrew from the difficult task of fulfilling its terms. How far their attitude was simply a question of political expediency which followed and reflected that of Michael VIII – namely that he had adopted the Union entirely out of political necessity, and although ostensibly subscribing to the Catholic tenets, remained true to his own Orthodox tradition – is difficult to tell. But what is clear is that at least his educated officials did not hesitate to condemn the Union soon after his death. Therefore, as far as they were concerned they seem to have accepted the Union as an *oikonomia*[49] in the early 1270s, while ten years later they followed the advice of the *rhetor* Demosthenes: πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐκβὰν ἕκαστον τῶν πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων κρίνεται (i.e. every past action is judged by the success of the final issue).[50]

[49] Pachymeres (ed. Failler) V, 18, 495–9, esp. pp. 495.24–497.1. See also Nikephoros Choumnos, Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν ... μητροπολίτην Φιλαδελφείας Θεόληπτον, in J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* V (Paris, 1833), 197; Papadakis, *Crisis*, 35; Nicol, 'The Byzantine Reaction', 119 and 126.

[50] Demosthenes, *Olynthiaca*, I, 11.

6

On political geography: the Black Sea of Pachymeres

Angeliki E. Laiou

The geographic knowledge of the Byzantines is a subject which has been somewhat neglected by scholars. Study of the technical information at their disposal, their knowledge and use of cartography, is undoubtably hampered by the fact that few relevant sources have survived from before the fourteenth century. My concern, however, is not with that topic, but rather with what I shall call the political geography of the Byzantines, that is to say, the knowledge they had of areas and peoples outside the frontiers of the empire. This subject, which combines geography, ethnography and political history, is also a neglected one. Yet the Byzantines were far from being as ignorant of such matters as some modern historians have suggested.[1] A systematic examination of the sources would yield a good deal of information, which in turn would illuminate the perceptions of the Byzantines regarding the world around them. The purpose of the present study is to test this hypothesis by examining a specific aspect of the subject, George Pachymeres' view of the Black Sea area and of the people who inhabited it.

The last two centuries of the existence of the Byzantine state are particularly instructive in so far as political geography is concerned. For one thing, the three historians of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, George Pachymeres, Nikephoros Gregoras and John Kantakouzenos, were all men of great learning and well informed, and can thus serve as a mirror of an intelligent Byzantine's view of the world. Second, the diminished Byzantine Empire was more than ever influenced by the actions of people outside its frontiers, and its subjects were well aware of this fact; therefore, the actions and sometimes the internal politics of other peoples loom large in the accounts of these

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[1] On Byzantine geography, see J.B. Harley and D. Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography, vol. 1: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago and London, 1987), 258ff. On the judgement of some modern scholars regarding the geographic and ethnological knowledge of the Byzantines, see Michael S. Kordosis, Σκέψεις γιὰ τὴ σύνθεση μιᾶς ἱστορίας τῆς γεωγραφίας στὸ Βυζάντιο, *Istorikogeografika* 2 (1988), 131–3.

historians.[2] Finally, the Palaiologan Renaissance witnessed an increased interest in the more technical aspects of geography, specifically cartography, and it is against that background as well as against the political circumstances that one must examine the political geography of the Palaiologan period. The earliest of the three historians, George Pachymeres, is also the one who has been least studied by modern scholars, partly, no doubt, because of his very difficult language. This neglect, however, is unmerited, for behind his abstruse style, Pachymeres hides complex thoughts and a shrewd judgement. As for the Black Sea area, on which we shall focus, it had particular significance in that period, when Mongols, Bulgarians and Genoese were active there; in addition this area, along with a rapidly diminishing Asia Minor, was of primary interest to Byzantine statesmen and observers.

Pachymeres was an erudite man, with a lively interest in the physical sciences.[3] He lived in Constantinople at a time when people with whom he undoubtedly came into contact were developing considerable curiosity about geography. The monk Maximos Planoudes, apart from acquiring and restoring copies of Strabo's *Geography*, was very much interested in Ptolemy. In 1295, he sought and found a copy of Ptolemy's *Geography*, and had maps made in Constantinople to accompany it. The three oldest extant manuscripts of this major geographic work with maps date from the late thirteenth century, and it has been suggested that they were made for Planoudes, and under the broader umbrella of imperial patronage.[4] Planoudes' activity, and the interest of Andronikos II, testify to a heightened intellectual concern about geography at this time. The fact that Planoudes could readily find people in Constantinople who were able to execute 26 maps posits the existence at least of skilled draughtsmen and perhaps of people with significant knowledge of geography.[5] The 'imperial' copy of Ptolemy's *Geography*, Cod. Urbinas Graecus 82, has beautiful maps, presumably copied from an earlier manuscript. The existence of earlier manuscripts, of skilled cartographers, and of people in high places with an interest in cartography suggests that there was something of a systematic approach to geography in Constantinople in the late thirteenth century. One should, finally, remember, that the first extant portolan chart, the Carta Pisana, dates from about 1270 and was, despite its name, executed in Genoa.[6] It is not too risky to speculate that Byzantines who were close to the imperial court in the late thirteenth century might have seen portolan maps, and that the interest of Planoudes in Ptolemy might have been sharpened by exposure to them.

[2] For a study of political geography in the fifteenth century, see Hans Ditten, *Der Russland-Exkurs des Laonikos Chalkokondyles* (Berlin, 1968). I owe this reference to Alexander Kazhdan.

[3] Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 345–7.

[4] On all this, see Harley and Woodward, *Cartography*, 267–9, and 192, Table 11.1.

[5] Harley and Woodward, *Cartography*, 268.

[6] Harley and Woodward, *Cartography*, 389.

As for George Pachymeres, I know of no specific evidence, such as exists for Planoudes, linking him to cartography. But he and Planoudes were contemporaries, and it is reasonable to suggest that the historian, whose interest in the natural sciences has already been noted,was at least aware of Ptolemy's *Geography* in a way which might have given him functional knowledge of geography, and might, therefore, have influenced his own work.

Before analysing Pachymeres' perceptions of the Black Sea, it will be useful to look at his general terminology regarding the four points of the compass, and the significance with which he invests them.

The world of Pachymeres is oriented with Constantinople as the point from which bearings are taken. This goes beyond the usual statements, common in Byzantine historians, according to which, for example, the empire is assailed from east and west.[7] When a historian such as Anna Komnene made such statements, the point of reference was Constantinople, to be sure, but the Byzantine Empire more generally, so that dangers from east and west meant threats from Normans or from Western Europe, and from the Turks.[8] The world of Pachymeres is different. The 'east' or the 'eastern parts' ('Ανατολή, τὰ κατ' 'Ανατολὴν, ἕως) refers almost exclusively to Asia Minor.[9] The refugees who fled from Asia Minor to Constantinople in the early years of the fourteenth century came ἀνατολίηθεν, or ἕωθεν.[10] The use of the term ἀνατολικός to denote the inhabitants of Asia Minor as well as those of the eastern part of the empire generally is quite old.[11]

Occasionally, the terms denoting 'east' refer to areas which extend beyond the frontiers of Asia Minor, and to the peoples who inhabited them. When the frontiers of an older Byzantine Empire are recalled, the east acquires a broader aspect: Pachymeres mentions that Damascus once marked τὰ ... τῆς 'Ρωμαΐδος ὅρια καθ' ἑῴαν.[12] A broad geographic designation of the 'east' appears with relation to the Ilkhanid Mongols, who are designated as 'Ανατολικοὶ Τόχαροι.[13] The designation οἱ κατ' ἀνατολὴν (Τόχαροι)[14] might be construed as meaning those Mongols who held sway over part of Asia Minor, but I think that in fact it encompasses all the Ilkhanid Mongols, since the reference is to their khan.

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[7] A. Failler (ed.), Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques* (Paris, 1984), I, 27.

[8] See, for example, Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Reifferscheid (Leipzig, 1884), I, 117ff.

[9] See, for example, Failler, 27, 31, 35, 115, 403; Georgii Pachymeris, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker (*CSHB*, Bonn, 1835), II, 232, 307–10, 326, 388, 416, 637–40, 446–7, 105, 233–4, 258, 271, 307, 309, 310, 574–6, 586ff. Asia Minor is occasionally called 'Ασία Μικρά: *CSHB* II, 210.

[10] *CSHB* II, 549, 557–8.

[11] Ph. Koukoules, *Θεσσαλονίκης Εὐσταθίου τὰ λαογραφικά*, I (Athens, 1950), 25. Eustathios' specific use of ἑῷος to denote the inhabitants of the eastern coast of the Black Sea (26) does not appear in Pachymeres.

[12] Failler, 241.

[13] Failler, 515; *CSHB* II, 402–5, 456.

[14] *CSHB* II, 262.

The Ilkhanids are designated as 'eastern' in contradistinction to the 'western' Mongols, i.e. those of the Golden Horde, to whom we shall return.[15]

Therefore, for Pachymeres the term 'east' or 'eastern' refers in the first instance to Asia Minor, secondarily to the Ilkhanids, and, more rarely, to the eastern parts of the old Byzantine Empire. The restricted geographical reference (to Asia Minor) corresponds to the shrinkage of the frontiers of the empire, and points up the importance of the capital: it is a political as much as a geographical term, and designates that part of the east (with reference to Constantinople) which still had relevance to the Byzantines.

The Constantinopolitan orientation with regard to Asia Minor is underlined by the terms used to denote passage between the two areas. Asia Minor is sometimes referred to as the περαία, or, more specifically, περαία τῆς Βυζαντίδος.[16] From the viewpoint of the inhabitants of Asia Minor, the European coast of the Bosphorus is the ἀντιπεραία.[17] Pera is also the ἀντιπεραία τῆς Βυζαντίδος.[18] The terms for crossing the Bosphorus from west to east are περᾶν κατ' ἀνατολήν or διαπεραίωσις, while from east to west the terms used are ἀντιπερᾶν or διαπεραιοῦσθαι.[19] It is thus evident that Asia Minor is perceived as those areas which lie across the straits from Constantinople, and the movement from east to west is described as a reverse movement, since Constantinople always serves as the point of reference.

The term 'west' or 'western' has both very specific and more general applications. The specific meaning applies to the lands of the Despotate of Epiros, and by extension to Serbia, but only when there is a campaign which is directed both against the despotate and against the Serbs. The use of the terms δυτικός, δύσις, τὰ κατὰ δύσιν, to refer to Epiros is found most commonly in the part of Pachymeres' *History* which deals with the reign of Michael VIII.[20] The term 'west' is not, as far as I know, used to refer to Western Europe.

A vaguer use of the term 'west' refers to lands west of Asia Minor or west of Constantinople. Thus, after the battle of Bapheus, many inhabitants of Asia Minor dispersed κατὰ δύσιν, i.e. to the European possessions of the empire.[21] In the description of affairs of the early fourteenth century, and specifically of the Catalan campaign, the term 'west' is increasingly used to refer to Thrace, even though this is not explicitly stated. Thrace, threatened by the Catalans

[15] See below, pp. 98–100.

[16] *CSHB* II, 543, 411.

[17] *CSHB* II, 105, 402, 591.

[18] *CSHB* II, 449.

[19] *CSHB* II, 522, 523, 484, 591, 608.

[20] Failler, 34 and n. 1; cf. 45, 115, 151, 191, 295, 399; *CSHB* II, 200–202, 450–51. When Michael VIII sent his brothers to deal with the affairs of the 'west', in 1263, he expected them to make war against the Albanians, the Serbs, Greece proper and Monemvasia: Failler, 271–3; for the date, see D.J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282, A Study in Byzantine–Latin Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 157–8.

[21] *CSHB* II, 395; for a slightly earlier exodus, cf. *CSHB* II, 314: πρὸς τὴν δύσιν διαπεραιούμενοι.

and the Bulgarians, is designated as western, sometimes in conjunction with the 'east' (Asia Minor), the historian pointing out how much the empire was endangered both from the east and from the west.[22] On one occasion, the term δύσις is used in the same sentence to describe both Epiros and Thrace, in the first instance with reference to the despot of Epiros Michael II (long dead) and in the second case to the 'western' *pronoiai* given to Michael IX after his own 'eastern' ones had been lost.[23] Finally the terms 'east' and 'west' are sometimes used as general terms designating Asia Minor and parts east on the one hand, and on the other the western possessions of the empire.[24]

One may conclude from the statements above that Pachymeres used the terms 'east' and 'west' in a political as much as a geographical sense. His point of reference is Constantinople, across which is to be found the 'east'. But the term 'east' often has a specific meaning, restricted primarily to Asia Minor. The importance of Asia Minor in his narrative is suggested by the fact that the 'west' is those possessions of the empire which were located west of Asia Minor. Furthermore, the difficult political circumstances of the empire in the early fourteenth century are reflected in the restricted implied meaning of the term 'west'. One has the impression that the immediate world of Pachymeres in the early fourteenth century extends only from northern Asia Minor to Thrace along the east–west axis.

In Pachymeres' discussion of the Mongol khanates, we find a significant exception to this use of the terms 'east' and 'west'. There were, at that time, four khanates: the great khans of China, the Chagatai khans of Central Asia, the Ilkhanids who ruled Persia, Mesopotamia and part of Asia Minor and the khans of the Golden Horde (or Qipchak) who ruled, from Sarai on the Volga, an area extending from east of the Aral Sea to west of Kiev, including the Crimea.[25] Pachymeres is not at all concerned about the first two, except in an excursus that describes the achievements of the Chinghiz Khan.[26] He is, on the other hand, deeply concerned with the affairs of the Ilkhanids and the empire of Qipchak, with both of whom the Byzantines had diplomatic and military relations. The Mongols, in his narrative, are basically divided into 'eastern' and 'western' Mongols. The 'eastern' Mongols (ἀνατολικοὶ Τόχαροι or οἱ κατ' ἀνατολήν) are the Ilkahnids, while some Mongols of the Golden Horde are

[22] *CSHB* II, 451–2, 558–9, 562, 608f, 621–3. When Irene of Montferrat decided to return to Constantinople from Thessaloniki, the emperor sent messengers to ask her to stay in Thessaloniki, because of the difficulties κατὰ δύσιν. Since Pachymeres immediately thereafter speaks of Catalan conquests in Thrace, it must be assumed that the word 'west' refers to Thrace here also: *CSHB* II, 587.

[23] *CSHB* II, 407.

[24] Failler, 303. Cf. *CSHB* II, 651: Pachymeres voices hope for the future: on the one hand (ἔνθεν) there is a rumour of 30 000 Mongols being sent against the Turks, while ἐκ δύσεως the Catalans have abandoned what they had held and crossed the Maritsa River.

[25] David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford, 1986), Map 1.

[26] See below, p. 113–4.

called δυτικοὶ Τόχαροι or ἐκ δύσεως Τόχαροι or (οἱ) κατὰ δύσιν Τόχαροι.[27] While one might suppose that the Ilkhanids are designated as being 'in the east' because they ruled part of Asia Minor, which, as we have seen, is the east par excellence in Pachymeres, such a suggestion would not be correct since he refers not only to the Mongol part of Asia Minor, but also to the Ilkhanid ruler, whose capital was in Tabriz.[28] The geographic designations do not at first appear to have been made with reference to Constantinople, since there is no possible way in which the territories of Qipchak could be said to be to the west of either Constantinople or Byzantine Asia Minor. In fact, Tabriz, the Ilkhanid capital, is to the west of the Qipchak capital, both on a Ptolemaic map and on a modern one.

A closer examination reveals that the adjective 'western' does not refer to the Golden Horde generally, but rather to the Mongols under Nogai, who, during the reigns of Michael VIII and Andronikos II, inhabited the north and north-western coast of the Black Sea, extended their lordship into Bulgaria and raided as far down as Thrace.[29] Therefore, the distinction between eastern and western Mongols has little to do with the relative locations of the Mongol khanates. It is, rather, dependent on the localization of these states in Asia and Europe in terms of which one extended further west on a map. This, in turn, owes a great deal to ancient geographic concepts, according to which the River Don separates Asia from Europe. The Byzantines knew this from Strabo who was, for them, the 'Geographer', and from Dionysios Periegetes, as one can see in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century commentaries on him.[30] Strabo, too, had distinguished between the *eastern* Scythians, i.e. those living east of the Caspian Sea, and those who lived in areas contiguous to Europe, i.e. between the River Don and the Sea.[31] Pachymeres does not draw this distinction, but

[27] Failler, 515, 243, 659; *CSHB* II, 262, 611.

[28] The capital had been in Tabriz since the reign of Abaga (1265–82): Morgan, *The Mongols*, 163.

[29] Failler, 243, 659; *CSHB* II, 611.

[30] Strabo 11.2.1. Cf. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, Commentary on Dionysios Periegetes, in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. G. Müller [= GGM], passim; Dionysios Periegetes, *GGM*, 144.662: ἐς δύσιν Εὐρώπην, ἐς δ' αὐγὰς Ἀσίδα γαῖαν. Cf. Nikephoros Blemmydes, Γεωγραφία Συνοπτική, *GGM*, 464. Eustathios of Thessaloniki has a longish discussion of the division between Europe and Asia, specifying that the inhabitants of the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Sauromatai and the Scythians are Asiatic peoples, for not everything north of the Don belongs to Europe, but only the lands to the west of that river, *GGM*, 221: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὐχ ἁπλῶς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοῦ Τανάϊδος τῇ Εὐρώπῃ προσνέμεται, ἀλλὰ μόνα ὅσα πρὸς δύσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφορίζονται. τὰ δέ γε πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦ Τανάϊδος τῇ Ἀσίᾳ προσλογίζονται. φησὶ γοῦν αὐτὸς προϊὼν ὅτι ὁ Τάναϊς ἀποτέμνεται εἰς δύσιν Εὐρώπην εἰς δ' αὐγὰς Ἀσίδα γαῖαν. οὐ μὴν λέγει ὅτι ἀποτέμνεται εἰς βορρᾶν μὲν τὴν Εὐρώπην, εἰς δὲ νότον τὴν Ἀσίαν. ὅθεν καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Μαιώτας καὶ τοὺς Σαυρομάτας Ἀσιανοὺς ἱστορεῖ, διότι οὐ πρὸς δύσιν αὐτοὺς ἀφορίζει ὁ Τάναϊς. ἔτι δὲ, ὡς ἐνταῦθα λέγει, ὁ Τάναϊς εἰς Σκυθίαν σύρεται βορείαν οὖσαν. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δέ φησι. 'Σκυθικοῖς ἐπιτρέχει πεδίοις'. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι Ἀσιανοί εἰσι κατὰ τὸν Διονύσιον· οὔκουν ἁπλῶς Εὐρωπαῖα πάντα τὰ βόρεια τοῦ Τανάϊδος, ἀλλ' ὅσα πρὸς δύσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁρίζονται.

[31] Strabo, 11.6.1.

rather one between the Mongols in Europe (those of Nogai), who are therefore the 'western' ones, and those of Asia, the 'eastern' ones (the Ilkhanids). The political issues of the day, which made of Nogai the most important Mongol of the Golden Horde, as far as Byzantium was concerned, clearly intruded on Pachymeres' geography, since the empire of Qipchak appears almost indistinguishable from the much more visible state of the 'western' Mongols, i.e., of Nogai; almost, but not quite, as we shall see below.

The designation 'north' is used almost exclusively with reference to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov; thus, the north wind is traditionally called 'Tanaites', its origins being in the Sea of Azov.[32] 'The northern parts of the Black Sea' is vague, and can encompass many lands: thus, an area which modern historians think is in the Dobrudja is called τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον μέρη τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου.[33] The Mongols of Nogai are also called βόρειοι[34] since they ruled the northern part of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Other peoples who are designated as 'northern' include the Alans, Zikhoi, Gothoi, and Ros.[35]

For the rest, the north–south directions are mentioned primarily as the two opposing *klimata* (zones of the earth), in a passage that discusses the importation of Cuman slaves to Egypt from the 'north', and a short treatise concerning the opposing character traits of northern and southern peoples.[36] In his treatise on astronomy, Pachymeres distinguishes between the common usage of νότιος, which is relative to one's own geographic position, and where the term μεσημβρινός would have been more accurate, and the correct usage, which would call νότιος only the regions south of the equator.[37] In his *History*, the terms βόρειος and νότιος always carry the extended and imprecise meaning, i.e. they always refer to parts of the northern hemisphere. However, in the passage mentioned above, it is implied that Egypt and the North Black Sea areas are situated in opposite zones of the earth, while elsewhere 'northern' is used with reference to the position of Constantinople.

The Internal Geography of the Black Sea and its Coasts

We shall now discuss the regions or localities of the coasts of the Black Sea which appear in Pachymeres' *History*, noting the author's particular interest in them.

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[32] Failler, 539 and n.1, with reference to Procopius, *De bell. Goth.* IV,4. Cf. Koukoules, *Λαογραφικά*, 25.

[33] Failler, 301 and ns 3 and 6, with reference to G.D. Balaščev, *Μιχαὴλ Η' ὁ Παλαιολόγος καὶ τὸ ἱδρυθὲν τῇ συνδρομῇ αὐτοῦ κράτος τῶν Ὀγούζων παρὰ τὴν δυτικὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου* (Sofia, 1930).

[34] *CSHB* II, 262

[35] See below, p. 115.

[36] Cf. Strabo, 2.5.34. On the *klimata*, see G. Pachymeres' treatise on astronomy, in P. Tannéry, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère* (Vatican, 1940), 376. See also E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata und die ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΙ* (Heidelberg, 1929).

[37] Tannéry, *Quadrivium*, 382.

Starting from the eastern coast, we note that Pachymeres does not mention any specific localities or even regions. The only mention of these parts is connected with the Mongol movement westwards from the Caspian Sea.[38]

On the southern coast of the Black Sea, moving from east to west, we encounter the Empire of Trebizond, which Pachymeres calls the 'land of the Lazoi' (ἡ τῶν Λαζῶν χώρα). References to the Empire of Trebizond appear primarily in two connections: the relations of its rulers to the Palaiologan emperors, and the activities of the Genoese in that state.[39] For Pachymeres, Trebizond is a somewhat strange land; its inhabitants are qualified as barbarians.[40] Its rulers are described as ἄρχων Λαζῶν or ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Λαζῶν,[41] and a long passage narrates Michael VIII's efforts to get them to recognize his overlordship, and to shed the imperial insignia, in return for the benefits of a matrimonial alliance with the Byzantine ruling house. The result was the marriage of John II Komnenos to Eudokia Palaiologina, in 1282.[42] Subsequently, Pachymeres accepts only the dignity of despot for the rulers of Trebizond,[43] but tacitly recognizes their independence. In his testament, John II Komnenos appointed the Byzantine emperor guardian of his son, Alexios. Pachymeres records a further, unsuccessful effort, on the part of Andronikos II, to cement the links through the marriage of Alexios to Irene Choumnaina.[44]

Communications between Trebizond and Constantinople appear always to have taken place by sea.[45] Sailing from Constantinople into the Black Sea is always described as going *up*, whatever part of the Black Sea may be in question, and this includes travel to the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, specifically to Trebizond. The Genoese, for example, are said to bring alum down to Constantinople from the ἄνω μέρη, through the Black Sea; the alum is that of Koloneia, located to the south-west of Trebizond.[46] All Pachymeres' references to Trebizond, when they include the direction ships took from Constantinople, show ships sailing *up* to Trebizond and from there *down* to Constantinople.[47] Trebizond is not at a noticeably higher latitude from Constantinople either in fact or on the Ptolemaic maps. And yet to Pachymeres, unlike medieval Western European map-makers, 'up' meant 'north', as one can see from a passage which probably refers to the ports of the empire of

[38] See below, p. 114.

[39] One other reference, outside these two categories, is to the Trapezuntine origins of the Patriarch Germanos III: Failler, 367.

[40] Failler, 655; cf. 367.

[41] Failler, 653; *CSHB* II, 270.

[42] Failler, 635–58.

[43] *CSHB* II, 448.

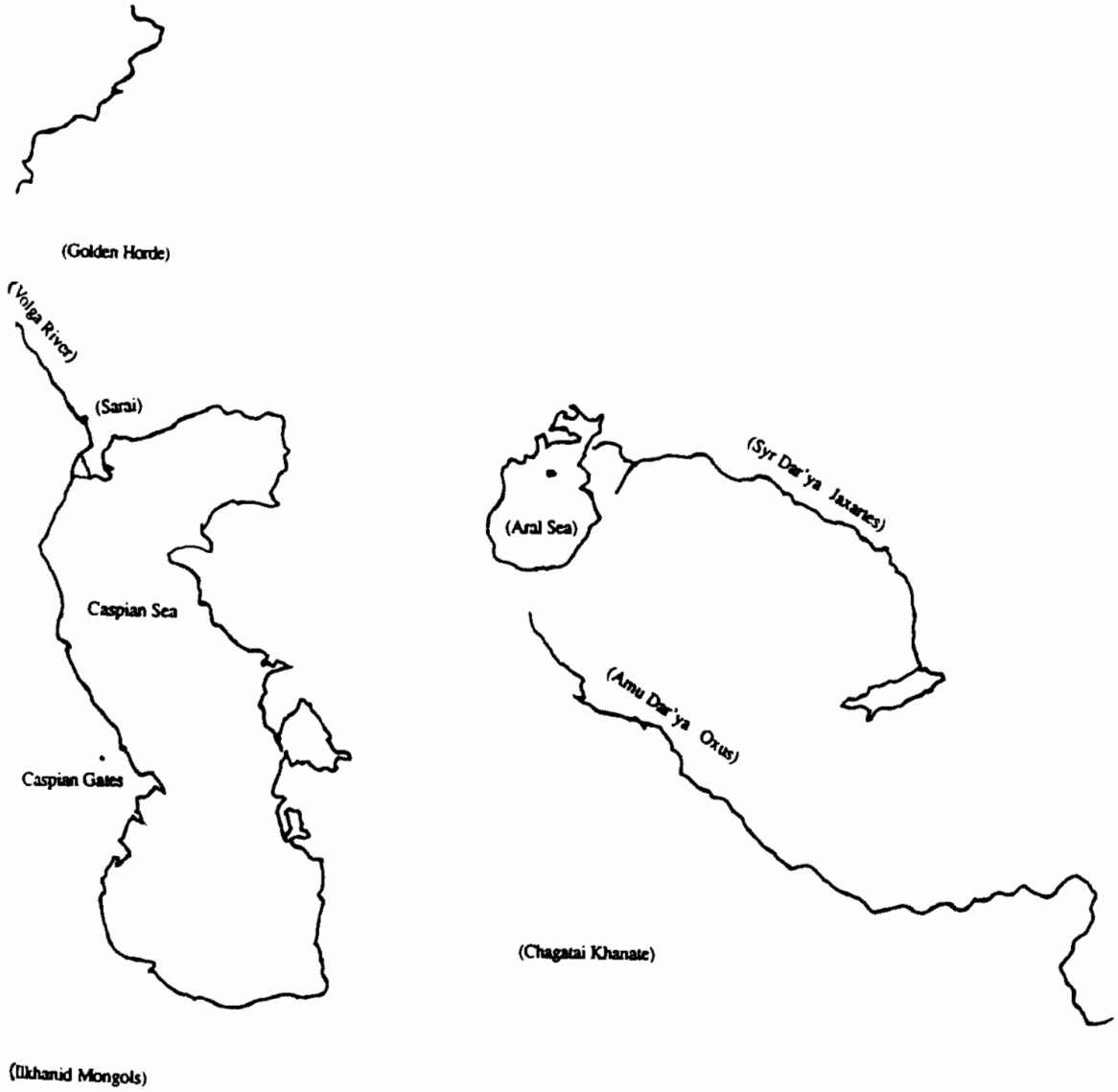
[44] *CSHB* II, 287ff.

[45] See, for example, *CSHB* II, 289.

[46] Failler, 537.

[47] *CSHB* II, 542, 578.

Scythians
Cumans
(Don) Tanais River
(Danube) Istros River
Vitzina
Mesembria
BLACK SEA
1260's
Anchialos
Sozopolis
Agathopolis
Constantinople
Chele (Sile)
Pontic Heraclea
Tios
Amastris
Kromna
Trebizond
(Tabriz)
Antioch



MAP I: The Black Sea of Pachymeres
(Place names in parentheses are added for the purposes of identification)

Trebizond: it speaks of the Genoese sailing from there to the *northern* ports of the Black Sea, where they captured a ship carrying alum, and sailed down to the Bosphorus.[48] Another reference, to ships coming down from Trebizond καὶ τῶν ἄνω τόπων,[49] may well refer to ports on the northern shores of the Black Sea, or the Crimea. The merchandise which had been brought down to Trebizond ἄνωθεν in all probability came from the northern coasts of the Black Sea.[50] There is, thus, an interesting lack of discrimination in Pachymeres' directional indications with regard to Trebizond and the northern coasts of the Black Sea.

As one might, perhaps, expect, this usage is conventional rather than specific to Pachymeres. In Choniates' *History*, a ship sails down (καταίροντος) to Byzantium from Phasis, on the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea. Dionysios Periegetes speaks of those who sail up into the Black Sea.[51] In Choniates, Constantine Phrangopoulos sails up into the Black Sea (ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον ἀναπλεύσας), to go to Aminsos.[52] Thus, medieval authors always thought of sailing up into the Black Sea from the Aegean, and Pachymeres does not differentiate between sailing due north or due east as one goes into the Black Sea from the Bosphorus. This does not denote geographical ignorance. Ancient and medieval writers knew very well the sailing routes and mention the ones going north, i.e. to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and east, towards Colchis and Phasis.[53] All it means is that in this instance Pachymeres was using conventions rather than giving sailing directions. Quite simply, in order to sail to any part of the Black Sea, whether due east or due north, one has to sail north from Constantinople through the Bosphorus, hence the Byzantine convention that one went 'north' into the Black Sea, whatever direction one might actually be taking.[54]

In our text, Trebizond appears as the major Black Sea trading centre. It is also the only one in which there is clear and specific mention of the presence of the Genoese. Pachymeres discusses the efforts of Alexios II, Grand Komnenos,

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[48] Failler, 537.

[49] *CSHB* II, 605.

[50] M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise* (Paris–Rome, 1978), 773ff.

[51] Dionysios Periegetes, *GGM*, Ἀνάπλους Βοσπόρου 1.1.

[52] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.A. Van Dieten, (Berlin, 1975), 528.81ff. For other uses of the term ἀναπλέω, cf. *Historia*, 344.50, 357.57. The term καταπλέω can mean either sail downward or to arrive at a port: *Historia* 91.16, 291.33, 292.63. I am indebted to Alexander Kazhdan for the references to Choniates.

[53] See Παράφρασις, *GGM*, 411; cf. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *GGM*, 244 and 245, who also gives directions: when you enter the Black Sea, sail to the right for the southern coast, to the left for the northern coast. On the wind and current system of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and sailing routes, see John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571* (Cambridge, 1988), Figure 2 and p.13.

[54] Thus Nikephoros Blemmydes says explicitly: τὸ δὲ ἐξῆς (from the Bosphorus) ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βορρᾶν μέρος Εὔξεινος καὶ Ποντικὸς πόντος καλεῖται καὶ ἐκτείνεται μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν Ἀνατολήν: *GGM*, 458.

to force them to pay the *kommerkion*,[55] and their voyage to Trebizond and back, with Berengar de Rocafort.[56] In geographical terms, then, Trebizond appears as an accessible area, although only by sea. In political terms, the Empire of Trebizond is legally dependent on the Byzantine Empire, but *de facto* independent, since it is always qualified as ἡ χώρα τῶν Λαζῶν, and never as a part of the empire. The Genoese connection looms large, partly because of the trade relations, and partly because of incidental factors which, however, were important to the Byzantine state, i.e. the involvement of the Genoese in the Catalan affair, and the capture of Berengar de Rocafort.

Moving west from Trebizond, the first named ports we encounter are the fortresses of Kromna, Amastris, Tios and Pontic Heracleia: Pachymeres says that, in the late 1260s, only these remained in Byzantine hands, the hinterland having been overrun by the Turks, and that they were saved only by their proximity to the sea.[57] Pontic Heracleia is mentioned a number of times, mostly in connection with the affairs of Asia Minor. Communications with Constantinople, since the reign of Michael VIII, were only by sea, the land route having been made impossible by the Turks.[58] Further west, and now very close to Constantinople, we find the island fort of Chele (Şile), a place of imprisonment for both John IV Laskaris and the patriarch Joseph I.[59] After the battle of Bapheus, Pachymeres records Turkish attacks on Chele and Astravete.[60] He refers to the Asia Minor coast of the Black Sea more generally, to denote the length of Asia Minor, from the Black Sea to the Aegean, that was overrun by the Turks.[61]

On the western coast of the Black Sea, the cities which were a bone of contention between the Byzantines and the Bulgarians are mentioned quite frequently and specifically. Here, as in the case of the northern coast of Asia Minor, when other factors, important to the narrative, do not intrude and Pachymeres simply names cities in the same geographical area, he lists then in terms of their decreasing distance from Constantinople: such is the case with Kromna, Amastris, Tios, Pontic Heracleia on the Asia Minor coast of the Black Sea, [62] and with Mesembria, Anchialos, Sozopolis and Agathopolis on the western coast of the Black Sea.[63] This may be interpreted either as a result of

[55] *CSHB* II, 448–50.

[56] *CSHB* II, 542, 578, 605.

[57] Failler, 405.

[58] Failler, 615, 405; *CSHB* II, 613, 328, 345. The truth of Pachymeres' statement is underlined by the fact that, when Andronikos II set out from Constantinople for Asia Minor in 1296, his first aim was the island fortress of Chele: *CSHB* II, 233; for the date see Laiou, *Andronicus II*, 86.

[59] Failler, 257, 533; cf. *CSHB* II, 233.

[60] *CSHB* II, 412; Speros Vryonis, Jr, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization in the 11th through the 15th Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1971), 137ff.

[61] E.g. *CSHB* II, 232: τὴν ἀπ' Εὐξείνου Πόντου μέχρι καὶ τῆς κατὰ Ῥόδον θαλάσσης κατά τε μῆκος καὶ πλάτος διέχουσαν (after the defeat of Alexios Philanthropenos).

[62] Failler, 405.

[63] Failler, 449. Kanstritzion, mentioned after Agathopolis, has not been identified.

a directional conceptualization, which would name last what is closest, or as the result of a political orientation, which would ascribe greater important to the cities closest to Constantinople, especially when Pachymeres is trying to make the point that all of these cities were endangered, or, on the contrary, held by the Byzantines against invaders. If that were the case, the most important city would be placed last for dramatic effect.[64] This scheme does not always hold, however. Thus, when Pachymeres discusses Theodore Svetoslav's attacks on the cities of the Black Sea coast, he presents them in the following order: 'the areas around Sozopolis and Mesembria and Agathopolis and Anchialos were agitated'.[65] The order here may be specific to this campaign and chronological rather than geographical, since Sozopolis and Mesembria were the cities first attacked by the Bulgarians.

The areas north of Mesembria are designated only in the vaguest of terms. There is mention of the invasion, in 1294, of the 'Scythians', who lived by the River Danube,[66] who raided Bulgaria, and were expected to invade Macedonia and Thrace, until they were stopped by Oumbertopoulos, governor of Mesembria. There is also mention of the bishop of Vitzina, acting as intermediary between Andronikos II and the Alans.[67] For the rest, the western coast of the Black Sea, north of Mesembria, and all of the northern coast are indiscriminately described as 'the northern parts of the Black Sea', with no specific mention of places or regions.[68] They are the domain of Nogai, about whom Pachymeres has a great deal to say. But this domain appears as a vast, undifferentiated area; what mattered to Pachymeres were not specific places but, rather, the peoples who inhabited them, and particularly the Mongols and the peoples under their domination.

The peoples of the Black Sea

As a general observation, one may note that Pachymeres does not dwell at length on the special traits of settled populations of the Black Sea area, namely, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the peoples of the Caucasus region. The Greeks and the Bulgarians of the western coastlands are mentioned in the context of political and diplomatic relations, which include the matrimonial alliances of the Laskarids and the Palaiologans with various Bulgarian rulers or pretenders. Unsurprisingly, he makes no ethnographic observations about these peoples. As for the Turks, their inroads on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia are mentioned in only the most general of manners.[69] On the contrary, much of Pachymeres' attention and all his ethnographic observations are directed towards those

[64] Cf. Failler, 279, 443, where Mesembria and Anchialos are presented in this order.

[65] *CSHB* II, 445: τὰ κατὰ Σωζόπολιν καὶ Μεσέμβρειαν Ἀγαθόπολίς τε καὶ Ἀγχίαλος ἐκραδαίνετο.

[66] *CSHB* II, 80, cf., 105–7 and below, p. 108–9.

[67] *CSHB* II, 307–310; Laiou, *Andronicus II*, 89 (1301).

[68] This designation apparently includes the Dobrudja: Failler, 301.

[69] See above, p. 105.

peoples who were, in one way or another, moving out of their traditional habitats: the Alans, the Cumans, the Mongols. This, too, is understandable, given the fundamental role of the Mongols in the affairs of the Near East, and given the much less extensive but, to Byzantium, important activities of the Alan mercenaries. Unsurprising, but nonetheless worthy of notice is the fact that the actors, i.e. those who take the initiative in the region, are the nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples, or in any case those who are on the move.

In the case of the Bulgarians and the Greeks who inhabited the south-western coast of the Black Sea, much of the discussion centres on the conflict for the control of the Black Sea ports of Anchialos, Mesembria, Sozopolis and Agathopolis, a conflict which spanned the reigns of Michael VIII and his successor, Andronikos II. A discussion of the details of that conflict is neither possible nor necessary in the context of this paper. The only item worthy of note here, since it speaks to Pachymeres' view of the region, is his discussion of the fate of Mesembria and Anchialos during the reign of Michael VIII.[70] Pachymeres reports that Michael VIII, when he arranged the marriage of his niece Maria to Constantine Tish (1268), had promised these cities as her dowry. But then he refused to cede them, arguing that the inhabitants themselves did not accept the settlement, 'for they (the cities) were part of Romania, and the inhabitants were Romans, and it was not reasonable (μὴ εἶναι... εὔλογον) that they should be ruled by Bulgarians'. The emperor made the cession of these cities contingent upon the birth of a son to the new couple, since an heir of Roman blood would justify the act. Pachymeres' views seem to have been somewhat different from those of Michael VIII. He says that the emperor was simply finding a pretext, because he knew that to give up these cities would result in great damage to the Byzantine Empire, but that it was proper (ἄξιον εἶναι) that Constantine Tish, who held these cities before Michael, should have them. Later on, he says that Michael VIII held Mesembria by right, since he had received it from Mytzes.[71]

The Alans appear on the scene in Pachymeres' *History* in 1301, and their appearance is intimately connected with the dissolution of Mongol control in the north-western part of the Black Sea after Nogai's death, which set them on the move. The Alans are among the peoples Pachymeres identifies as having been conquered by Nogai, and having adopted the language and mores of the Mongols.[72] Still, they seem to be quite distinct from the Mongols after the collapse of Nogai's might. Pachymeres says that they had made Nogai's successes possible; but after his death, they were liberated from his service (τῆς ἐκείνου δουλείας) and sought to enter the service of the Byzantines.

[70] Failler, 441ff.

[71] Failler, 449–51. Further on the Black Sea cities, see Failler, 279, 445–48, 449.

[72] Failler, 445. According to William of Rubruck, in 1253, the Alans were Christians and used the Greek language: C. Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (Toronto, 1980), 110.

Andronikos II accepted their offer with some dispatch, hoping that they would defend Asia Minor from the Turks.[73]

The Alans are described by Pachymeres as a μεγάθυμον ἔθνος.[74] The emperor certainly had thought that they were obedient,[75] and very bellicose. They insisted on being kept together in battle, as they had under Nogai, to help each other.[76] Pachymeres' view was different from that of the emperor, or at least what he records differs from what the emperor had expected. For they were warlike, but, Pachymeres says, they were disobedient, like barbarians.[77] The vagaries of the Alans in Asia Minor, and their complex relations with the Byzantines and the Catalans do not concern us here.[78] It is, however, of some interest to note that Pachymeres records the claims of the Mongols of the Golden Horde on the services of the Alans, for it seems that the khan Toktai asked for the Alan troops to be returned to him, as being his subjects.[79] This information is an indication of Pachymeres' interest in and knowledge of Mongol affairs, rather than in the affairs of the Alans. The Alans, then, appear in Pachymeres' *History* partly in connection with the Mongol expansion, which brought them, with Nogai's army, into the European coasts of the Black Sea and eventually into the Byzantine Empire. Once there, the historian's interest in the Alans is focused on their activities in Asia Minor and Thrace: indeed, the main reason they appear in Pachymeres' *History* is their role as mercenaries in the service of the Byzantine state, or in conflict with it. As for Pachymeres' ethnographic observations with regard to the Alans, they are limited, and to some degree contradictory.

The other two peoples who were active in the Black Sea area are the 'Scythians' and the Mongols. The term 'Scythians' is occasionally used in a generic sense, with ancient antecedents, to juxtapose the inhabitants of the areas north of the Black Sea and those of the Roman and Hellenic world; in a word, to juxtapose Greek and barbarian.[80]

Usually, however, Pachymeres gives to the term 'Scythians' a specific meaning that designates the Cumans who inhabited the area of the northern Black Sea coast, and east of that.[81] These are the people who were conquered by the Mongols, but who were so numerous that the Khanate of the Golden

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[73] *CSHB* II, 307–10.

[74] *CSHB* II, 307.

[75] εὐάγωγον καὶ εὐπειθές: *CSHB* II, 308.

[76] *CSHB* II, 308.

[77] ἐδόκουν δὲ λῆμα μὲν πολεμικὸν ἔχοντες, ἤθεσι δ' ἀνυποτάκτοις ὡς βάρβαροι χρώμενοι: *CSHB* II, 310.

[78] See Laiou, *Andronicus II*, 89–90, 135–7, 145–6, 162, 170.

[79] ὡς ἰδίους καὶ τῆς τῶν Τοχάρων ἀρχῆθεν χειρὸς ἀπήτει: *CSHB* II, 550.

[80] *CSHB* II, 458, and cf. below, p.120.

[81] Failler, 237: the terms ἐκ Κομάνων and τὸ Σκυθικὸν are used interchangeably. On the 'infinite number' of Scythians living around the Sea of Azov, see Παράφρασις, *GGM*, 411 and Eustathios' commmentary, *GGM*, 246 and 325.

Horde was also known as 'Khanate of Qipchak'. It has been suggested that the great influence of the Cumans on the Mongol conquerors is indicated by the fact that on the coinage of the Golden Horde Turkish replaced Mongolian during the reign of Tode Mongke (1280–7).[82] As we shall see, in Pachymeres' account some activities of the Cumans are related to Mongol affairs, as well they should be. But for the most part in his discussion the two peoples remain differentiated. The first mention of the 'Scyths' in Pachymeres refers to the alliance of John III Vatatzes with them, and his settlement of some Scythian soldiers in Phrygia and the Maeander valley.[83] The service which these people and their descendants rendered to the Byzantines is discussed further in the text.[84] Much later, after the death of Nogai, which seems to have freed both the Alans and some 'Scythians' from effective control, Pachymeres mentions that the 'Scythians' who inhabited the area around the Danube traversed Bulgarian territories and attacked Macedonia and Thrace. Their activities were primarily in the hinterland, and Andronikos II sent the inhabitants into fortified places and transported the Vlachs who lived around Vizye, for fear that they would go over to the enemy. The disorganized, leaderless nature of the Scythian attack is illustrated by Pachymeres' expression, νέφος Σκυθῶν (a cloud of Scythians).[85]

Far more interesting is Pachymeres' discussion of the Cuman inhabitants of the areas north of the Black Sea. We find it in a passage about international developments in the years 1261–2, namely, Michael VIII's efforts to forge a marriage alliance with the Ilkhanid khan Hulagu and also to form an alliance with the Egyptians, that is, with Sultan Baybars (1260–77).[86] Pachymeres notes that the sultan (who remains unnamed throughout) was a Cuman, who had been sold to Egypt as a slave, and that the Egyptians greatly valued the 'Scyths', whom they acquired as slaves and used as soldiers. This is, of course, an accurate representation of the origins of the Mameluks. Therefore, says Pachymeres, the sultan wanted to be able to recruit Scythian soldiers, but could only import them if he had access to the Black Sea, which the Byzantines controlled. Therefore, he sent many gifts to Michael VIII, and in return the emperor allowed Egyptian ships to enter the Black Sea and return carrying Scythian slaves. In the middle of this discussion, there is an excursus on the nature of the 'Scythians', which is the interesting part of the passage, and is worth summarizing.

The salient points are as follows. Men, and animals, differ from each other depending on whether they inhabit the northern or the southern zones.

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[82] Morgan, *The Mongols*, 141–2.

[83] Failler, 27; cf. his n.4, with reference to Akropolites, 65, Skoutariotes, 486–7. These were the Cumans who lived round the Danube Delta: Gregoras, I, 36–7.

[84] Failler, 121, 191, 195, 197, 207, 271.

[85] *CSHB* II, 80–1, 105–8.

[86] Failler, 235ff, and notes.

Animals of the north are white, whereas those of the south are dark. As for men, those of the north are unintelligent and barely rational; they have no sciences, no knowledge or wisdom, nor do they have those arts which distinguish men from irrational beings. On the other hand, they are excitable and warlike. The men of the southern regions are just the opposite. They are intelligent and wise, in politics, arts and science, but are slow to excite, lazy and unwarlike (μαλακοὶ πρὸς μάχας). The explanation of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the two climate zones, which are opposite each other, affect people differently through some innate powers, ultimately attributable to the differential effect of the sun which, in the north, does not shine enough to warm the brain, where intelligence resides, but makes the skin hard and the limbs powerful. In the south, on the other hand, its intense heat fosters intelligence but weakens the body. Pachymeres ends by saying that συμμετατίθεσθαι γὰρ τοῖς σώμασι τὰς ψυχὰς ὁ φυσικὸς λόγος δίδωσι. This last statement may derive from Hippocrates: εὑρήσεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χώρης τῇ φύσει ἀκολουθέοντα καὶ τὰ εἴδεα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους.[87]

The passage clearly owes a good deal to ancient wisdom, which the Byzantines inherited. In particular, the idea that the Egyptians invented agriculture and the sciences is found in Herodotus and Strabo and also in Byzantine texts such as Nikephoros Blemmydes' Γεωγραφία Συνοπτική and Eustathios of Thessaloniki.[88] On the contrary, the northern peoples were said to be warlike: as Strabo wrote, ἀεὶ δὲ οἱ προσβορρότεροι καὶ παρωκεανῖται μαχιμώτεροι.[89] Indeed, the opposition of the northern, blond peoples who are warlike and the southern, dark peoples is explicitly made in the commentary of Eustathios of Thessaloniki on Dionysios Periegetes.[90] Pachymeres' contribution to this age-old wisdom is twofold. For one thing, the two sets of people he compares are the Cumans and the Egyptians, not, as in ancient lore, the Germanic tribes and the Egyptians.[91] There is a remarkable shift, whereby the Cumans acquired the traits of the Germans, by reason, it would seem, of the fact that they were

[87] Hippocrates, *Περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων*, 24. Nikephoros Gregoras, I, 102, mentions the fact that the Egyptians, who were not bellicose, imported their soldiers from among the European Scythians around the Sea of Azov and the River Don, but does not go into the explanations given by Pachymeres.

[88] Herodotus 2.3; *GGM*, 459; cf. *GGM*, 412, 258.

[89] *Geography*, 4.4.2.

[90] *GGM*, 266. This description is to be distinguished from statements about the peoples who live in the northernmost and southernmost parts of the inhabited world, and who are thought to be poor and miserable: Eustathios, *GGM*, 255–6.

[91] See, e.g. Strabo 7.12, 4.4.2; Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *GGM*, 255–6: ὅτι τοὺς Γερμανούς, οἷς οἱ Ἀλαμανοὶ πρόσχωροι, λευκὰ λέγει φῦλα. τοιοῦτοι γὰρ τὴν χρόαν εἰσὶν, ἀπεναντίας τοῖς νοτιωτάτοις Αἰθίοψιν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ μελάντατοι. καλεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρειμανίους ἢ ἐρισθενέας. Cf. Nikephoros Blemmydes, Ἑτέρα ἱστορία περὶ τῆς γῆς, *GGM*, 470. On the peacefulness of the Eygptians, see Strabo 17.1.53. On the fact that the Scythians north of the Black Sea are not clever, see Herodotus, 4.46, and cf. Eustathios, *GGM*, 339. Hippocrates thought that the Scythians were fat, lazy and impotent: 18–22.

both northern peoples and warlike. The only German trait Pachymeres cannot give the Cumans is blondness; he skirts that issue, by speaking of white and dark animals, instead of white and dark peoples.

Pachymeres' second contribution is the pseudo-scientific explanation of the difference between the northern and southern peoples. This, too, seems to be his own elaboration of ancient ideas, such as Hippocrates' view that Asians are less warlike than Europeans because the European climate is subject to greater variations than that of Asia, and 'it is changes in all things that rouse the temper of men'.[92] Within Europe, too, he makes the distinction between those who live at high altitudes, who tend to be large, courageous and fierce, and the inhabitants of hollow regions, who are dark and lack bravery.[93] While the idea that climate influences physique and disposition comes from ancient sources, the specific elaboration seems to be Pachymeres' own.[94]

In the case of the Cumans, then, Pachymeres uses ancient commonplaces and changes them to fit the two most important characteristics of the Cumans, i.e. that they were a northern people and that they were good soldiers; the first trait is made to explain the second. Interestingly, the Mongols, who of course were excellent warriors, are not described in the same terms, perhaps because Pachymeres knew them to have been recent immigrants to northern areas, and thus could not apply to them the ancient north–south dichotomy.

Pachymeres' discussion of the alliance between Michael VIII and Baybars and the continuation of the slave trade from the Black Sea region into Egypt leads him to a remarkably sophisticated overall view of the political and military developments in the Near East in the late thirteenth century. His narrative encompasses Egypt, Syria and Palestine, the north Black Sea region and the Mongols, both the Ilkhanids and those of the Golden Horde. After mentioning Michael VIII's efforts to form a marriage alliance with Hulagu, and the emperor's connection with the Egyptians, he records the destruction of the kingdom of Acre by the Mameluks, over a period which starts with the fall of Antioch in 1268 and culminates in the fall of Acre in 1291. He connects this important series of events with the treaty between Michael VIII and Baybars, and the consequent increase in the number of Mameluk slaves in Egypt, laying the blame for the loss of Palestine on Michael VIII's shoulders: ταῦτα μὲν Αἰθιόπων τὸ χριστιανικὸν ἀπώναντο ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀβουλίαις ἢ κακονοίαις ἢ αὐτονόμοις ὁρμαῖς καὶ ὀρέξεσι. He then returns to the Mongols, and outlines

[92] *Περὶ ἀέρων*, 16; cf. 24.

[93] *Περὶ ἀέρων*, 24.

[94] A much older similar elaboration may be found in Vegetius, who says that the southern peoples, subject to excessive heat, have wisdom but little blood, which they cannot afford to shed, and so they avoid war; while northerners, *remoti a solis ardoribus*, have less judgement but more blood, and thus are always ready to fight. Vegetius, unlike Pachymeres, advises one to get soldiers from temperate zones, since these would have a happy combination of sufficient blood and good judgement, C. Lang, *Flavi Vegeti Renati Epitoma rei militaris*[2] (Leipzig, 1885), 6–7; cf. G. Dagron, '"Ceux d'en face"; Les peuples étrangers dans les traités militaires byzantins', *TM* 10 (1987), 208.

the Byzantine policy of containment, which consisted of marriage alliances, both with the Ilkhanids and with the general Nogai. The complex politics of the period are thus treated in a comprehensive fashion; the depth of Pachymeres' understanding of a series of interrelated developments which spanned almost twenty years is indicated by the fact that he discusses them together, in his treatment of the policies of Michael VIII, and returns to the fall of the Latin outposts in Palestine later, to place it in the proper chronological order in his narrative.[95]

In Pachymeres' account, the most important people of the Black Sea area was the Mongols, as was also the case in reality. While the *History* discusses primarily Mongols under Nogai, and while Pachymeres sometimes mentions hostilities between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanids, he sees the Mongols, from Persia to the northern shores of the Black Sea, as essentially one people. This can be seen most clearly in the nomenclature and in Pachymeres' brief account of the creation of the Mongol state. All of the Mongols are called Τόχαροι, an archaic name which is found in Dionysios Periegetes, where it designates a people around the Jaxartes River, possibly contiguous to the Σῆρες (the Chinese).[96] He says that they themselves use the name Mongols,[97] and that they are commonly called Ἀτάριοι, a term which is possibly a variant of Τάταροι.[98] They were given their laws by, and began their expansion under Chingiz Khan, to whom Pachymeres attaches the legend that he was a blacksmith by trade, a social provenance which for Pachymeres seems to have explanatory value, since it explains the simplicity of the mores and the laws of the Mongols.[99] Pachymeres dates the beginning of their expansion from their passing through the Caspian Gates in 1222. His particular interest is evident here, for the earlier expansion of the Mongols eastward into China is never mentioned. It is possible that Pachymeres, like Dionysios Periegetes, thought that the homeland of the Mongols (Τόχαροι) was in the vicinity of the Aral Sea, and that he knew nothing of the eastward expansion.

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[95] Failler, 241, 243; cf. *CSHB* II, 87. For a discussion of the importance of the Mameluk–Byzantine connection in the diplomatic and political affairs of the Near East at this time, see David O. Morgan, 'The Mongols and the Eastern Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989), 203–5. Nikephoros Gregoras, I, 101ff, mentions the alliance of Michael VIII and the Egyptians and the purchase of Scythian slaves as well as the conquest of Syria and Palestine. His narrative, however, is much less sophisticated than that of Pachymeres.

[96] Müller, *GGM*, 151.752. Cf. Nikephoros Blemmydes, Γεωγραφία Συνοπτική, *GGM*, 464.46: between the Oxus and the Jaxartes rivers. Cf. Παράφρασις, *GGM*, 419 and Eustathios 318; Akropolites 67–9, 71, 119, 125, 136, 136–8, 144, 157.

[97] Μουγούλιοι: Failler, 445.

[98] Failler, 181.

[99] Failler, 445, 447. Chingiz Khan belonged, in fact, to a minor chieftain family: Morgan, *The Mongols*, 38, 57. On Chingiz Khan's supposed law-code, see Morgan, 'The "Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan" and Mongol Law in the Ilkhanate', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (University of London) 49 (1986), 163–76.

At the same time, Pachymeres has a much more accurate knowledge than some of his contemporaries of the origins and early history of the Mongols. He distinguishes very clearly between the Cumans and the Mongols; his use of the rare term Τόχαροι is probably a conscious effort to point out the fact that these were a people different from the 'Scythians' of the ancient sources. Furthermore, he posits, correctly, a westward and northward migration of the Mongols. On the contrary, Gregoras completely confuses the Mongols and the Cumans, and both with Herodotus' 'Scythians'. According to Gregoras, the Mongols, whom he called Scythians, expanded from the land of the Hyperboreans southward to the Caspian Sea. He credits Chingiz Khan's son(!), Hulagu, with the westward expansion of the Mongols.[100]

Pachymeres provides some quasi-ethnographic information about the Mongols. They are presented as a simple, unaffected and self-sufficient people, and very warlike. They supposedly lived according to the precepts of Chingiz Khan, who ordered them to eschew luxury and selfishness, and instead to help each other, to live simple lives, to eat, when necessary, congealed blood from their horses. They were not to live in houses but move from place to place, leading a nomadic life. Chingiz Khan had prescribed polygamy, which would safeguard the propagation of the race; the women were charged with providing the necessities of life, including clothing, whereas the men's job was to make war. Pachymeres seems to admire the mores of the Mongols, whom he considered truthful, just and simple.[101] His admiration for what he perceived as a simple Mongol way of life comes through in a passage where he describes Nogai's reaction to the many presents sent him by the Byzantine emperor. All obviously useful presents, i.e. food, wine, gold and silver cups, were immediately accepted. But as for sumptuous hats and jewel-encrusted clothes, Nogai asked whether they had any protective function, against fatigue, pain, thunder or lightning. If no such function could be found, he would put them aside, and only if the Byzantine envoys pretended that the clothes did perform a protective function would he wear them, 'paying heed not to the precious stones and pearls, but to their utility'.

Occasionally Pachymeres distinguishes between fact and rumour. Thus, he reports that when the Mongols first appeared on the horizon of the Byzantines they were unknown, and many things were said of them, such as that they had dogs' heads, and that they were cannibals (καὶ ἀνθρωποφαγεῖν ἐπιστεύοντο).

[100] Gregoras, I, 30–5. On the 'Scythians' around the Caspian, see Strabo 11.6.2, and Παράφρασις, *GGM*, 419.

[101] Failler, 447–9. Some traits of the Mongols, such as their polygamy and their nomadic habits, appear in Western European accounts as well: see, for example, the account of John of Plano Carpini in Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 6ff, and that of William of Rubruck, ibid., 93–104. Of course, Pachymeres' account is not nearly as rich as these. The fact that among the Mongols women are the providers of food is also attested by William of Rubruck. His idea that Chingiz Khan promised the Mongols perpetual victory if they kept their own laws is presented by John of Plano Carpini as a duty laid upon them to conquer the world (33).

This may be the only indication that Pachymeres had an inkling that the homeland of the Mongols might lie much farther east, since in the *Geography* of Ptolemy the Anthropophagoi are situated on the borders of Serica (China).[102] He reports as fact that the Mongols had no dietary prohibitions. This must have been common lore about the Mongols at the time, since John of Plano Carpini repeats a story that explains why Chingiz Khan ordered all food, except for dung, to be eaten.[103] Pachymeres stresses the bellicose nature of the Mongols several times, as he does the fear they inspired in their enemies.[104]

Pachymeres then discusses the Mongol movement out of their homeland. The westward expansion can be reconstructed as follows. The Mongols, under Chingiz Khan, crossed the Caspian Gates (in 1222). For Pachymeres, this is the beginning of their expansion. He does not, in this passage, indicate the direction they took after crossing the gates, but since the event is mentioned in connection with Nogai, he was, perhaps, thinking of their movement northward, which took them to the coasts of the Sea of Azov in 1223.[105] Seljuk Asia Minor was overrun; the reference here is probably to the first invasions of 1242–3. Under Hulagu, there is another invasion of Asia Minor (1257). The Caliph, al-Mustasim, was killed (1258). Pachymeres then details the effect of these events on the Seljuks, which is what most interests him, since it directly affects the Byzantines. He mentions the Byzantine alliance with Hulagu (1260) and the flight of the sultan Kaykawus II to the Empire of Nicaea (1261).[106] With the establishment of friendly relations with the Ilkhanids, Pachymeres' interest in this branch of the Mongols becomes linked to political developments, which there is no reason to detail here. The other stage of the migration that interests Pachymeres is connected with Nogai. He was sent by the Mongol lords (ἄρχοντες) of the Caspian against the 'coast to the north' (ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ βορρᾶν περαίας), or differently expressed, 'against the northern peoples around the Black Sea' (τοῖς ἀνὰ τὸν Εὔξεινον βορείοις ἔθνεσιν).[107] He was to conquer these peoples, who had been under Byzantine control before the fall of Constantinople in 1204.

The 'coast to the north' refers to the northern coasts of the Black Sea across the Caucasus, which is described by Dionysios Periegetes as an isthmus separating the Caspian and Black Seas; indeed Eustathios of Thessaloniki calls it a very large and wide isthmus, which separates Europe from Asia.[108] On a modern map, the northern direction of such a movement is far from evident, at least if the point of departure is the Mongol capital in Sarai rather than the

[102] Failler, 187.

[103] Failler, 447; cf. Dawson, *Mission to Asia*, 25.

[104] *CSHB* II, 11–12; cf. Failler, 187, 304.

[105] Failler, 447: in 1222.

[106] Failler, 181–9, 32.

[107] Failler, 445 and *CSHB* II, 262–4.

[108] *GGM*, 342.695–6: τοῦ δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολίην βορέην τ' (from Colchis) ἐπικέκληται ἰσθμός, ἰσθμὸς Κασπίης τε καὶ Εὐξείνοιο θαλάσσης. Cf. Blemmydes, *GGM*, 464; Eustathios, *GGM*, 222, 335.

southern shores of the Caspian Sea. On a Ptolemaic map, however, the northern coast of the Sea of Azov lies well to the north of the Caspian Sea, and the 'northern' peoples whom Nogai conquered are also to the north of the Caspian.

Pachymeres identifies these peoples as Alans, Zikhoi, Gothoi and Ros, and the peoples (unnamed) who were near them. The Goths are probably the Goths of the Crimea; the Ros were certainly in Nogai's domain, and to the Byzantines they sometimes were the 'northern' people par excellence;[109] Pachymeres may well have thought of the Zikhoi as inhabiting the area north of the Sea of Azov;[110] as for the Alans, they are a Caucasian people, living in the interior of the isthmus between the Caspian and the Black Seas. Their presence in the narrative suggests that Pachymeres may be conflating the activities of Nogai in his early years, that is, 1258–9, when he was sent by Khan Berke to attack Galicia; the early 1260s, when he campaigned in the Caucasus against Hulagu and Abaga; and finally the establishment of his own domain on the northern coast of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea (τὸν ἄνω Εὐξείνου τόπον).[111]

Still according to Pachymeres, Nogai's domain was created as follows. The 'northern' peoples eventually merged with the Mongols, who thus became numerous and powerful. Nogai rebelled against his masters,[112] declaring that he had conquered these lands not for them but for himself. He is said to have ruled τὸν ἄνω Εὐξείνου τόπον, as if he were independent (ἀρχοντικῶς).[113] It is to be noted, however, that Pachymeres never calls Nogai king, as do other sources, and always remembers that he was not independent, but was, theoretically, under the suzerainty of the khans of the Golden Horde.[114] Pachymeres mentions the marriage of Nogai to the illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII, Euphrosyne, of which he disapproved, as the language of the passage makes clear: he speaks of the fact that the Byzantines kept the Mongols quiet by servile approaches to them, and adduces as evidence the fact that the emperor gave to Nogai, leader of the western Mongols who, having come out of some obscure area had occupied the north, his daughter, ἐκ σκοτίων σπερμάτων γεγεννημένην.[115]

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[109] Koukoules, *Λαογραφικά*, 25.

[110] Eustathios of Thessaloniki, Commentary, *GGM*, 339.

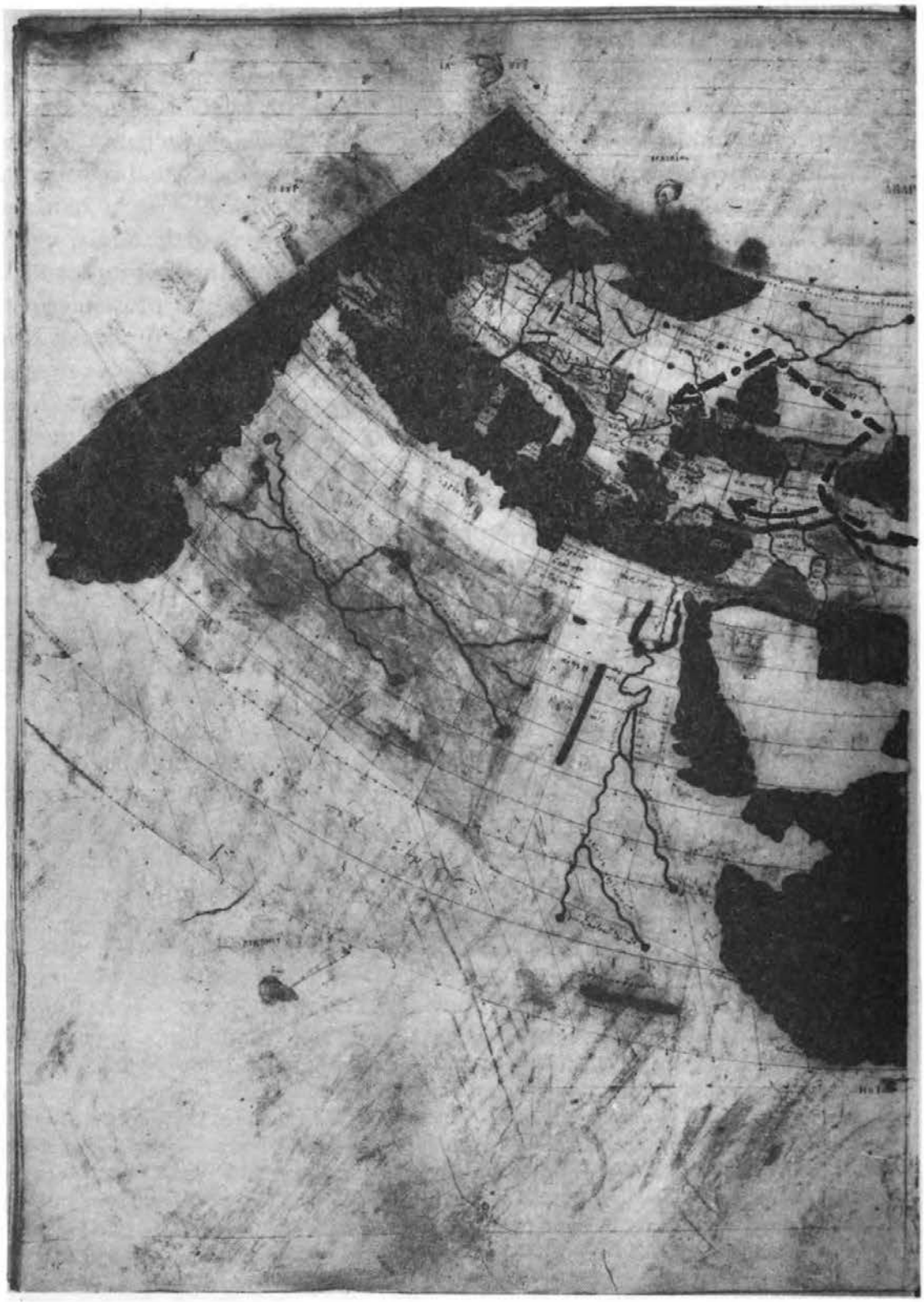
[111] *CSHB* II, 263, 257, 611. Cf. Spuler, *Die goldene Horde*, 34, 42–3, 48ff. Nogai governed the area west of Desht-i-Qipchak, i.e. the areas between the Don and the Dniepr, and received the overlordship of the Crimea from Toktai (1290–1312). On the other hand, it is possible that Pachymeres simply had in mind a general northern area, such as we find in Eustathios' Commentary (*GGM*, 269; cf. Παράφρασις, *GGM*, 413) where it is stated that north of the Danube one finds Germans, Sarmatai, Getai ... Alans, Tauri and Ros. In 1253, William of Rubruck mentions the Circassians and the Alans, living in high mountains and still fighting the Mongols: 116, and cf. John of Plano Carpini, 42.

[112] Failler, 303.

[113] *CSHB* II, 263

[114] Spuler, *Die goldene Horde*, 64. I do not share the opinion of Failler, 242 n.1, that Pachymeres considered Nogai to be independent, and the founder of the Golden Horde. The passages cited by Failler suggest the opposite.

[115] Failler, 243; cf.443, 447 (c. 1270); Spuler, *Die goldene Horde*, 60.



MAP II: The "Oikoumene" from Ptolemy's *Geography*, Cod. Urbinas Gr. 82, 59v–602 (Reproduced by kind permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

--- Chinghiz Khan's expansion - - - - - - Nogai's path
→ expansion of Mongols into Asia Minor (all according to Pachymeres)

Nogai, established on the northern and part of the western coast of the Black Sea, then plays an important role in Byzantine politics, especially in the empire's relations with the Bulgarians, whose overlord he became in 1290.[116] This is not the place to rehearse in detail the relations between the Mongols, the Bulgarians and the Byzantines. Suffice it to say that Nogai looms large in the *History* of Pachymeres, since he was the most powerful ruler in that part of the world, and an important factor in Byzantine policy.[117] The Byzantine alliance with Nogai left Pachymeres uneasy, as is indicated, among other things, by his reaction to Michael VIII's plan to launch the Mongols against Epiros: 'This plan was quite appropriate for a soldier, but to a Christian it appeared most improper. For it seemed that to launch impious men against Christians and godless peoples against sacred things was the act of those who are totally indifferent to the fear of God.' Justice, however, he says, was swift; and he follows this passage with the discussion of Michael VIII's illness and death.[118] As for Nogai, his death at the hands of Toktai released a number of individuals and groups, the Alans, the Danubian Scythians, and Kouximpaxis[119] and thus increased the instability in the area.

Pachymeres' interest in the Mongols takes a specific form, different from that in the Western European sources of the thirteenth century. His ethnographic observations are limited, and certainly nothing remotely comparable to those of John of Plano Carpini or William of Rubruck with their first-hand experience. His discussion of the origins and the movements of the Mongols never extends to areas east of Persia; it is as though Central Asia and China did not exist. The Mongols are of interest to him specifically as they affect the Byzantine Empire, its foreign policy, and its relations with the Turks and the Bulgarians. Thus, the various matrimonial and other links between Byzantine emperors and the Ilkhanids or the Mongols of the Golden Horde are described in some detail. The movement of the Mongols west of the Caspian Sea is described summarily but accurately. Closer to home, the story of Nogai is related in detail, as is the intricate pattern of relations between Nogai, various Bulgarian pretenders and the Byzantines. Pachymeres was conscious of legalities and hierarchies, and was quite clear about the formal relationship between Nogai and the khans of the Golden Horde. In short, his interest in the Mongols was great when their activities affected the Byzantine Empire, and his knowledge of their affairs was commensurately detailed. His view of politics transcended the immediate or localized alliances and hostilities, but again in specific ways: he was aware that the Ilkhanids and the Mongols of Golden Horde were part of the same people, as he was of their hostility to each other; and we have seen that he was perfectly well aware of the interconnec-

[116] Spuler, *Die goldene Horde*, 71–2.

[117] See Failler, 550, 565, 567, 589, 591, 659–63, *CSHB* II, 264–5.

[118] Failler, 659ff.

[119] *CSHB* II, 345.

tions in developments in the Black Sea, Constantinople, Egypt and Syria and Palestine. Here his concern is for Christendom as a whole, but the focal point of even this series of developments is, for him, Constantinople and the activities of Michael VIII.

Only once in his discussion of the Mongols does he evince a curiosity which is unconnected with political events of immediate interest to the Byzantines, although it is at least partly connected to the interests of Christendom as a whole. This is when he discusses the death of the Ilkhanid khan Ghazan, and evaluates his reign. His account, although very brief and selective, is surprisingly circumstantial. Ghazan was the first officially Muslim Ilkhanid ruler. Yet Pachymeres chooses to focus on what is obviously of interest to him, namely, Ghazan's wars against Egypt.[120] The attack on the Syrian possessions of Egypt came about because of an Egyptian offensive against Lesser Armenia.[121] Pachymeres, however, claims that it was caused by the influence of Ghazan's Georgian soldiers, who were devout Christians, carried the cross in battle, and were so successful that they almost persuaded and caused him to take Jerusalem. He would, says Pachymeres, have taken Egypt itself, had he not been stopped by the desert.[122] Pachymeres may or may not be accurate in his evaluation of the influence of Georgian soldiers; in any case, it is clear that there were political factors of some importance behind the attack in Egypt. On the other hand, by making Ghazan into a champion of Christendom against the Egyptians, and mentioning specifically the liberation of Jerusalem, Pachymeres may have been launching an attack against the policies of Andronikos II, an attack which to us is obscure but to contemporaries was not. In fact, Ghazan had sent an embassy to Andronikos II, who was allied to both the sultan of Egypt and the khan of the Golden Horde, to seek his neutrality in the Egyptian war.[123] In other words, the situation was very similar to that obtaining during the reign of Michael VIII,[124] and it is not unreasonable to suggest that Pachymeres was as opposed to one as he was to the other, and projected the message. Finally, his reference to Jerusalem is undoubtedly connected with the fact that, despite his religion, Ghazan had opened negotiations with the kings of France and England, seeking help against Egypt and asking them to launch a new crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land.[125]

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[120] On these, see B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran* (Berlin, 1968), 97ff.

[121] Spuler, *Mongolen*.

[122] *CSHB* II, 456–8.

[123] In August, 1302: Spuler, *Mongolen*, 101.

[124] See above, p. 111–2.

[125] C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* 4, (La Haye and Amsterdam, 1835), 344–5. Jean Richard, 'The Mongols and the Franks', in Richard, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: contacts et relations (XIIe–XVe s.)* (London, 1976), XXVII, 55 and n.42, notes that very few Western Christians were aware of Ghazan's conversion, and indeed saw in his Syrian campaign proof that he was planning to drive the Muslims from the Holy Land for religious reasons. He did, apparently, promise the Holy Land to Western Europeans.

Pachymeres' evaluation of the khan Ghazan is full of admiration for him, and provides some accurate information as well as an insight into some of Pachymeres' own views of the good king. Ghazan, he says, did many memorable things. The first to be mentioned are his military deeds for, says Pachymeres, he thought to emulate Cyrus and Darius or, rather, Alexander the Great, whom Ghazan is said to have admired above all others. The attacks on the Egyptian possessions are specifically mentioned. Second, Ghazan, although a great ruler, spent his spare time doing lowly craftsman's work, making cloaks, spurs, reins, shoes and cloth, so as to serve as a model to his subjects.[126] This is very unusual praise for a Byzantine, and may possibly reflect an admiration for John Vatatzes who also concerned himself with pursuits that were relatively lowly for an emperor.[127] Pachymeres further admires Ghazan's political philosophy, which he finds strange in a barbarian. For Ghazan, he says, thought that the good king should be an imitation of God. Just as God does not differentiate between Romans and Scythians, Sauromatai and Greeks, not even between the righteous and the unrighteous but gives his gifts freely to all, so Ghazan thought that the just ruler should dispense his gifts equally. This is the virtue of *philanthropia*, a standard virtue in the Byzantine concept of the emperor. Ghazan valued justice more than anything else, and it was justice for everyone; again, a trait of the good ruler in Byzantine political philosophy. A further attribute of the emperor (as the Byzantines saw it), that is, his legislative right, is also attributed to Ghazan, who is said to have established good laws everywhere. Finally, Pachymeres mentions Ghazan's monetary reforms, saying that he cut a pure gold coin.[128] Ghazan was, as we know from other sources, a reformer; he was liberal, he was a lawgiver, and did have a concern for impartial justice. What is interesting in Pachymeres' passage is, first of all, the fact that our historian was well informed on the matter; the brevity of his account cannot disguise his knowledge of Ghazan's polity. It is also interesting that Pachymeres presented Ghazan almost as an example for emulation: here was a 'barbarian' ruler who behaved as a just king.[129] In short, the entire passage on Ghazan reveals Pachymeres as a historian who was surprisingly well informed about the affairs of the Mongols, and as a man who, although his interests were firmly fixed on Byzantium, nevertheless took a much larger view than one would expect of the interests of Christendom. His hopes for the victory of Christendom in its battle against Islam were, to a considerable degree, focused on the Mongols of Persia, without any of the fantasies concerning the legend of Prester John that were commonly attached to the Mongols in Western Europe.

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[126] For corroboration of this, see d'Ohsson, 360, after Rashid, and Spuler, *Mongolen*, 93.

[127] Gregoras, I, 41–5.

[128] *CSHB* II, 457–8.

[129] On his reforms, see Morgan, *The Mongols*, 167–70; Spuler, *Mongolen*, 93; d'Ohsson, 363–8, quoting Rashid.

Conclusion

For Pachymeres, the Black Sea is a familiar sea, especially as regards the Bulgarian and Anatolian coastlands. His interest lies less in geography proper and more in politics: the peoples and places he identifies are those with the greatest importance to large-scale or small-scale Byzantine politics. It is a sea no longer Byzantine by any stretch of the imagination; Byzantine ships do sail upon it, but the Genoese have easier access, and most of the coastlands are controlled by others, particularly the Mongols. It is an open sea, on whose coast the activities of Byzantines, Genoese, Bulgarians and Mongols play variously important roles.

What about the knowledge of geography and ethnology in this period? Is it passable, or should we bemoan, with Krumbacher, the ignorance of the Byzantines? Were the Byzantines as innocent of geography as they thought they were learned in history? As far as Pachymeres is concerned, the answer is comforting. His geography is unimpeachable. The only accusation that may be levied against him is that he only spoke about places or peoples that had a political significance for Byzantium; but what he said was accurate. His information undoubtedly came in part from geographic sources of antiquity, supplemented by contemporary observation. What is quite unexpected is his meticulously exact information concerning the Cumans and the Mongols. Again, his interest lay in politics rather than in ethnology, and so his account is much less colourful than that of Western observers; but he clearly collected his data carefully, and equally clearly he had a strong intellectual curiosity about these peoples, much greater than that of Gregoras. Whether fuelled by unfortunate political developments or by the revival of interest in ancient learning, this new attitude towards the world that surrounded Byzantium is a neglected but appealing aspect of culture in the early Palaiologan period.

7

Late Byzantine and Western historiographers on Turkish mercenaries in Greek and Latin armies: the Turcoples/Tourkopouloi

Alexis G.C. Savvides

'The *Tourkopoloi* were a military corps which consisted of the offspring of Turks, just as the Janissaries, later, in the times of the Osmanli Turks, were a corps which consisted of the offspring of Christians.' The above definition originates from the pen of K. Paparregopoulos in the last decades of the nineteenth century.[1] Yet it can hardly be termed accurate, since one of the principal features of the *Turcoples* or *Tourkopo(u)loi* (Greek Τουρκόπουλοι, Τουρκόπωλοι, Τουρκοπῶλοι, Τουρκοπῶλαι, Τουρκοποῦλοι, etc.), i.e. Christianized Moslem mercenaries of Turanic (Turcophone) origins who served in the Byzantine and Oriental Frankish forces from the late eleventh century onwards (especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), was that they were the offspring of mixed marriages between Turkish men and Greek Christian women. This fact, overwhelmingly attested by a considerable number of Greek and Latin sources, invalidates Paparregopoulos' juxtaposition between *Turcoples* and Janissaries, for the latter were almost exclusively children of Christian parents.[2]

In an important note of 1933 K. Amantos demonstrated that the endings -πουλος (-poulos) and -ιτζης (-itzes) often signified foreign mercenaries in Byzantine troops and were eventually incorporated into Greek family surnames, such as Βαραγγόπουλος, Ἀρμενόπουλος, Φραγκόπουλος etc.[3] The term *Tourkopoulos/-oi* in particular, although not encountered in modern Greek nomenclature for obvious reasons, characterizes one of the most important mercenary contingents of the empire's armies in the late Byzantine era. This article attempts to provide a historical account of the fate of this crucial Turkish

[1] K. Paparregopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, 6th revised ed. by P. Karolides (Athens, 1932), vol. IV/2, 79; cf. ibid., V/1, 152: 'Turcoples, that is, men of Turkish origins who had, however, embraced the Christian religion and way of life'; ibid., suppl. vol., index, 420: 'a military corps of Turkish offspring in the Eastern State [= Byzantium]'.

[2] K. Amantos, *Σχέσεις Ἑλλήνων καὶ Τούρκων, I: A. D. 1071–1571* (Athens, 1955), 78, believed that the *devshirmes* of the Janissaries from the fourteenth century onwards may have been based on a reverse imitation of the Turcoples' recruitment by the Byzantines.

[3] K. Amantos, 'Τουρκόπωλοι', *Hell* 6 (1933), 325–6; A. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter der Komnenen* (Munich, 1965), 69.

mercenary corps in Byzantium and the south-eastern Mediterranean world (more particularly in the crusader states, Cyprus and Rhodes) from the period following the Byzantine disaster at Manzikert (1071) to the first part of the Palaiologan era (mid-fourteenth century) as well as to the Venetian period in Cyprus from the late fifteenth century onwards. Individual Turcoples are singled out and their careers briefly treated, while – on the other hand – it will be shown that the term *Turcople* was gradually corrupted to a latinized form, that of *Turcopolier*, and that, from the late twelfth and the early thirteenth century, it came to signify the members of light cavalry mercenary forces (particularly in the Latin Orient, Cyprus and Rhodes) irrespective of racial origins. The task of these forces was to patrol the coasts and guard the maritime populations of those regions from pirate raids, under officers who were invariably of Latin origin and termed *Grand Turcopoliers* by Western sources.[4]

Byzantium and the Latin East: eleventh and twelfth centuries

The Christianized *Tourkopo(u)loi* were direct descendants of the Seljuk and Turcoman mercenaries, who had fought in Byzantine forces during the late eleventh and in the course of the twelfth century under the Komnenoi and the Angeloi, and had married Christian women. Their uncontested military skills were due to the fact that they used to wage battle in almost the same manner as Seljuk and Turcoman warriors, something that rendered them a welcome, if not a necessary, addition to the empire's military strength;[5] indeed, by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they had become standard contingents of the Byzantine armies.[6] In the Christian Orient, too, they were effective in using the bow and arrow and appear to have also employed the Turkish

[4] See generally N. Kalomenopoulos, 'Τουρκόπουλοι', *Megale Elleniki Enkyklopaideia PYRSOU*, 23, 235; Amantos, 'Τουρκόπωλοι' (valuable linguistic and etymological observations); R. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193* (Cambridge, 1965 repr. 1978), 111–12; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 vols (Berlin 1958, 2nd ed.), II, 327–8 (detailed refs to Greek sources); Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 65, 67 ff.; Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the 11th through the 15th Century* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1971), 441–2; Vryonis, 'Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower', in V.J. Parry–M.E. Yapp (eds), *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East* (London, 1975), 134 [= *Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks and Ottomans. Reprinted Studies* (Undena Publications, Malibu 1981), III]; I. Sterns, 'The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States', in K.M. Setton (ed.), *History of the Crusades*, 5 vols (Madison, Wisc. 1962–85), V, 338–9, ns 33–8, 341; A. Savvides, 'Τουρκόπουλοι', *Megale Genike Enkyklopaideia YDRIA* 51 (1988), 121–2. Of great value is P. Wittek's article 'Yazidjioghlu Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (University of London) 14 (1952), 639–68 (fundamental for the Gagauz Turks, on which see below, n. 65).

[5] J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), 491–2; cf., however, Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 67, who correctly points out that their being of the same race with the enemy they had to fight must have rendered them somewhat unreliable.

[6] Vryonis, *The Decline*, 441.

manner of fighting,[7] although, as T. Wise remarks, 'their real role was to bolster the number of knights with whom they normally went into action, by forming a second, more numerous, line of cavalry'.[8] 'In time they became so normal a part of the Latin forces', observes R. Smail, 'that contemporaries named them together with *milites* and *pedites* as part of the conventional description of an army'.[9] The Turcoples' agility in using the bow and arrow while galloping on horseback was attested not only by the Moslem prince-chronicler Usamah ibn Munqid,[10] but also by Walter the Chancellor, who narrates that mounted '*Turcopoli contra ipsos sagittantes*' participated (although they were repelled) in the Frankish victory over the Kurdish emir of Hamadan, Bursuk, at the valley of Sarmin in 1115,[11] as well as against the Artukid (Ortokid) Turcomans of Il-Ghazi I in the battle, fateful for the crusaders, of the 'Field of Blood' (*Ager Sanguinis*) in 1119; here, too, they were driven back by the enemy on to the incoming Franks, who were thus wiped out.[12] The fact that the Turcoples were actually mounted archers, however, has been questioned by R. Smail, who points out that 'there seems to be little justification for assuming, on the basis of the scanty information normally quoted, that all Turcopoles were both horsemen and archers'.[13]

Apart from the existing contemporary evidence for the eleventh–twelfth centuries, chiefly encountered in Western sources, we are justified in surmising that the Turcoples were active in Byzantium during these centuries by the testimony of George Pachymeres, who, early in the fourteenth century, recorded that the Turcoples who participated in the incursions of the Catalan Company in Thrace in 1305/6,[14] 'were descendants of those Persians

[7] Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 112 n. 3, however, argues against the conviction that the Turcoples were employed by the Franks exclusively as mobile mounted archers against the Turks, for this form of skill was peculiar to the Turkish peoples and 'there is no reason to suppose that many natives of Syria were adept in its use'. See also below, n. 13.

[8] T. Wise, *The Wars of the Crusades 1096–1291* (London, 1978), 83; cf. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 112.

[9] Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 111; cf. below, nn. 54–5.

[10] Usamah, ed. Hitti (New York, 1929), 79.

[11] Galterius Cancellarius, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* V, 92 ff.; cf. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 112, n. 1, 147, 178–9; see also S. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1951–4, repr. 1978), II, 132–3.

[12] Galt. Cancel., V, 101 ff; other sources cited in Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 179–80 and Runciman, *History*, II, 148 ff.

[13] Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 112, who also argues against the theory that most Turcoples were chiefly used for reconnaissance.

[14] The Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner recorded that the Turcoples in this case had actually left their families in the care of the Catalans: see Vryonis, *The Decline*, 263, n. 726. In 1307, however, they seem to have caused trouble to the Catalans themselves: Muntaner cited in D. Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie, 1305–32: un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 15 (1974), 231, n. 86 [= *Recherches sur la Mediterranée Orientale du 12e au 15e s. Peuples, Sociétés, Economies* (London, 1979), V]; consequently, they abandoned the Company in 1308: Gregoras, *CSHB* I, 248–9, 254; cf. Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens', 231–2, n. 87.

[=Turks],who were for quite some time called Tourkopouloi',[15] and who had apparently distinguished themselves on the battlefield 'causing considerable hardship to the Romans [=Byzantines]'.[16] Actually,the descendants of 'those Persians' (sons, grandsons etc.) were christianized towards the end of the thirteenth century,[17] and were offered territories for settlement in the Macedonian area around the river Axios (Vardar),[18] as well as in Thrace, especially in Rhodope.[19]

A. Hohlweg makes the interesting point that, although Byzantine sources provide no concrete evidence regarding the presence of a Turcople force in eleventh- and twelfth-century imperial troops, yet it would not have been possible for Western chroniclers to adopt such a term, when referring to Turkish mercenaries in Byzantium, had it not been present there; therefore, argues Hohlweg, 'one ought to surmise that this form [i.e. Tourkopouloi], signifying mercenaries of Turkish origin in the Byzantine armies during the twelfth century, was actually in use in the empire, although not officially'.[20] A close look at the testimony provided by both Greek and Latin sources will prove that the term *Tourkopoulos* was in use both in Byzantium and the Latin Orient from the eleventh century. Chronologically the first mention appears in a Greek source, a copy of a chrysobull dated to A.M.6590, fifth indiction (= A.D.1082), signed by the emperor Alexios I Komnenos and mentioning a certain Athonite monk of Vatopedi, *Sergios Tourkopoulos*,[21] probably an ex-Muslim.[22] It is tempting to associate this *Tourkopoulos* with the theory, recently

[15] Pachymeres, *CSHB* II, 523–4: τὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Περσικόν, οὓς καὶ Τουρκούλους ὠνόμαζον.

[16] Pachymeres, II, 574, testifies that those Turcoples had arrived in the empire coming 'from the north' (Χριστιανοῖς Τουρκοπούλοις, οἱ δὴ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ ἐκ τῶν βορείων βασιλεῖ προσεφοίτησαν ... οἱ μὲν Τουρκόπουλοι ... ὡς ἐξ ὁρμητηρίου ἐκθέοντες δεινὰ Ῥωμαίοις εἰργάζοντο, cf. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 69). Following the battle of Apros and the defeat of Andronikos II's troops by the Catalans in 1305, a Turcople called Κουτζίμπαξις was employed by Byzantium to hold the restless Alan and Turcople mercenaries in check: Pachymeres, II, 549–50, 553, 574–5; cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 170; Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 69; Elizabeth Zachariadou, 'Observations on some Turcica of Pachymeres', *REB* 36 (1978), 262 [= *Romania and the Turks, c. 1300–c. 1500*, London, 1985, I]. Cf. also the testimony of Gregoras, I, 229 (below, n. 62). For an account of those events see D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London, 1972), 138 ff; Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens', 231 ff.

[17] According to Amantos, *Σχέσεις*, 78, baptism must have offered certain privileges to these ex-Muslim settlers in Byzantium.

[18] Vryonis, *The Decline*, 441; Vryonis, 'Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14th–16th Centuries' in H. Birnbaum – Sp. Vryonis, *Aspects of the Balkans* (Mouton–The Hague–Paris, 1972), 162 [= *Studies*, X]. On the Vardariot Turks, i. e. Hungarian settlers who had occupied these areas since the tenth century, see below, nn. 77–9.

[19] K. Amantos, *Ἱστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους* II (Athens 1957, 2nd ed. repr. 1977), 331, erroneously dated the Turcoples' Rhodope settlement to the twelfth century

[20] Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 68–9.

[21] M. Goudas (ed.), Βυζαντιακὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου, *EEBS* 3 (1926), 124 ff.; cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 328.

[22] The monk Sergius Tourkopolos (Τουρκόπωλος) mentioned in *Gregorios Palamas*, 3, 211 (cf. Amantos in *Hell* 6, 326; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 328) is probably another person.

voiced again by D. Nastase, associating the foundation of the Kutlumush monastery with the princely family of the first Seljuk sultan of Rûm (that is, Anatolia), Süleyman I ibn Kutlumush, who established his headquarters at Nicaea in 1080/81.[23]

The latinized term *Turcopoles/Turcopoli/Turcopuli* is first encountered in the anonymous Latin source for the First Crusade entitled *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*; here they form a contingent of Alexios I's army in the May-June 1097 joint operations of crusaders and Byzantines against Nicaea;[24] while initially they, together with Byzantium's Patzinak (Pecheneg) mercenaries, engaged the crusaders in two skirmishes,[25] we eventually find them, headed by the *strategos* Manuel Boutoumites, participating in the last stages of the siege of Nicaea; it was they who – heavily armed – were transported by Boutoumites in boats to blockade the city from the side of Lake Ascania,[26] while another Turcople, the *strategos* Tatikios,[27] headed another body of Turcoples and Vardariote Turks,[28] who brought the siege machines of the imperial army along the coastline of Lake Ascania, thus preventing the besieged Seljuks inside Nicaea from replenishing their water supplies. Tatikios, too, with his Turcople–Vardariot contingents, escorted the crusading forces in their march to Antioch in 1098.[29] A. Hohlweg has discussed the problem of whether Tatikios actually headed a mixed Turcople–Vardariot force or simply a body of Vardariots, who may have made up the imperial bodyguard at that time, and concludes that the former case seems the more likely, since it was the Turcoples

[23] D. Nastase, 'Les débuts de la Communauté Oecumenique du Mont Athos', *Σύμμεικτα Κέντρου Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν Ἐθνικοῦ Ἱδρύματος Ἐρευνῶν*, 6 (1985), 263 ff. On the foundation of the Rûm Sultanate see now A. Savvides, 'A Note on the Terms *Rûm* and *Anatolia* in Seljuk and Early Ottoman Times', *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 5 (1984/5, publ. 1987), 97 n. 4.

[24] In his *Gesta Dei per Francos* (III, 4), Guilbert of Nogent characterizes them as 'familiar soldiers' of the emperor (... pariterque ii, qui vocantur Turcopoli, quos non alios quam familiares eius militias intellegimus, diriguntur); cf. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 63, 78, n. 2.

[25] *Gesta*, ed. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), 6, 9: 'iniquus imperator Alexius imperavit Turcopolis et Pinzinacis [= Patzinaks] invadere illos [= Franks] et occidere ... tandem invenerunt [= Franks] Turcopulos et Pinzinacos dimicantes cum nostris'; cf. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 67, n. 3.

[26] *Gesta*, 16 '... suosque Turcopulos mandavit [= Alexios I] cum eis ... nocte superveniente miserunt [= Byzantines] eas [= boats] in ipsum lacum [= Ascania Lake], plenas Turcopolis, bene ornatis armis'; cf. Anna Comnena, ed. B. Leib, III (Paris 1945, repr. 1967), 11–12; Paparregopoulos, *Ἱστορία*, IV/2, 79; Runciman, *History*, I, 180; Runciman, 'The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch', in Setton (ed.), *History*, I, 290.

[27] Anna Comn., I (1937, repr. 1967), 151: Τατίκιος ... οὐκ ἐλευθέρας δὲ ὢν τύχης ἐκ προγόνων. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Σαρακηνὸς ὤν; cf. B. Skoulatos, *Les personages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), 287–92; his career was adequately summarized by N. Kalomenopoulos, Τατίκιος, *Megale Elleniki Enkyklopaideia PYRSOU* 22, 822.

[28] Anna Comn., I, 151: ὁ δέ γε Τατίκιος ... τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀχριδὼ οἰκούντων Τούρκων ἡγεμόνευε, γενναιότατος ὢν καὶ ἀκατάπληκτος ἐν μάχαις, cf. N. Oikonomidès in *Südost-Forschungen* 32 (1973), 8 (below, n. 77).

[29] Anna Comn., III, 17, 18: μετὰ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὸν δυνάμεων ... μετὰ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατοῦ, cf. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 68.

who were skilled in archery, while the Vardariots had acquired a notorious reputation as mace- and staff-bearers (ῥαβδοῦχοι and ῥοπαλοφόροι);[30] they are said by Niketas Choniates to have played an important role in the overthrow of Andronikos I Komnenos on 12 September 1185.[31]

An important Frankish chronicler of the First Crusade, Raymond of Aguilers, writing around the turn of the twelfth century, also provides crucial information on the Turcoples for the year 1099, recording that they were skilled archers (*sagittarii*) and 'were called thus (= *Turcopoli*), for they were either reared with Turks or were the offspring of a Christian mother and a Turkish father'.[32] The fact that they were the offspring of mixed marriages between Muslim (Turkish) men and Christian women is often stressed in the Latin sources. Albert of Aachen (Aix), who wrote his *History of the Jerusalem Expedition* in the early twelfth century, informs us that the 'impious race of the *Turcopoli*, who were said to be Christians only by name but not by their deeds, were born of a Turkish father and a Greek mother'.[33] They were active serving as mercenaries in Alexios I's troops during the First Crusade,[34] and while the crusaders marched on Jerusalem following the Frankish conquest of Antioch (3 June 1098), *Turcoples* and other mercenaries of Alexios I arrested a notorious crusader pirate, Guinemer of Boulogne, who was shortly afterwards freed through the intervention of the crusader leader, Geoffrey of Boulogne.[35]

It was in the course of the crusade of 1101 that Alexios I provided the French and German armies with a force of Turcoples, mounted auxiliaries under the *strategos* Tzitas;[36] they were to distinguish themselves in battle when the Seljuks of Rûm attacked a crusader caravan of pilgrims in the region of the Pontos,[37] although they are recorded by Albert of Aachen as having caused

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[30] See C. Varzos, *Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν* I (Thessaloniki, 1984), 617: 'the rod-bearers with the terrible whips'.

[31] Nicetas Choniates, ed. J.-L. van Dieten (Berlin, 1975:*CFHB*), 343: οἱ τὰ ὑσγινοβαφῆ φοροῦντες ῥαβδοῦχοι; cf. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 68.

[32] Raymond of Aguilers, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* III, 246: 'Turcopoli enim dicuntur, qui vel nutriti apud Turcos, vel de matre Christiana patre Turco procreantur'; cf. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 111; Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 67; Vryonis, *The Decline*, 229, n. 150; Vryonis, *Studies*, III, 134, n. 2; Sterns in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 338, n. 34.

[33] Albert of Aachen, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* IV, 380: 'Turcopoli gens impia et dicta Christiana nomine, non opere, qui et Turco patre et Graeca matre procreati'; cf. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 111; Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 67–8; Sterns, in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 338, n. 34.

[34] Albert of Aachen (IV, 40) enumerates the foreign mercenaries in Alexios I's troops: 'Turcopulos, Pincenarios, Comanitas, Bulgaros Danaosque arcu doctos et sagitta'; cf. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 65, n. 1, 67, n. 5–7, who points out that the Turcoples were by no means the only Turcophone auxiliary force in Byzantine armies.

[35] Albert, IV, 40; cf. R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten 1096–1204* (Munich, 1981), 265–6.

[36] Anna Comn., III, 12; cf. J. Cate, 'The Crusade of 1101', in Setton (ed.), *History*, I, 354, 361.

[37] Cate, 'Crusade of 1101', 355.

severe hardship at Ermenek to pilgrims who were on their way to Antioch, by robbing them and leaving them in a lamentable condition naked and on foot in the wilderness.[38] The same chronicler records for the year 1108 that during his Anatolian operations against the Seljuks Alexios I used not only Western mercenaries 'but also Turcoples, Cumans and Patzinaks'.[39]

H. Diament, in an interesting article of 1977, discusses the possibilities of associating the Latin term *pullanus* (*poulain*), which characterized the Frankish newcomers (settlers) to the Holy Land, with the Greek suffix *-poulos* of the term *Tourkopoulos*.[40] In the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem the military Orders of the Templars and the Hospitallers had in their service a body of lightly armed cavalrymen, known as *Turcopoles* (sons of Turks), who formed the vanguard of the crusader armies and were allotted small landholdings (fiefs). These forces appear to have been recruited locally, chiefly among the converted Muslim populations of the Middle East,[41] and especially from Syria and Palestine.[42] Some scholars have stressed that this process was effected in imitation of the Byzantine *Tourkopouloi*.[43]

From Albert of Aachen as well as from another important source, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Ordericus Vitalis, we learn that the Turcoples possessed a sound knowledge of the Anatolian road system and thus escorted the crusading armies on their expeditions there.[44] As I. Sterns has recently observed, the Turcoples' social status apparently ranked them well below their masters, yet we are informed by a wealth of statutes of the Templar, Hospitaller, as well as Teutonic Orders, that they were certainly considered superior to mere

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[38] Albert, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* IV, 575 ff.; cf. Cate, 'Crusade of 1101', 359 and map on p. 347.

[39] Albert, quoted in Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 67, n. 8: 'Galli, qui conventione solidorum imperatori militabant, sed et Turcopoli, Comanitae, Pincenarii'.

[40] H. Diament, 'Can Toponomastics Explain the Origin of Crusader French Lexemes *Poulain* and *Turcople*?' *Names: Journal of the American Name Society* 25 (1977), 183–204; cf. J. Prawer, 'Social Classes in the Latin Kingdom: the Franks', in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 120, n. 1. T. Wise, *Wars of the Crusades*, 84, writes that the *Turcoples* were recruited from the Syrians and *poulains*. See also above, n. 3.

[41] P. Hitti, 'The Impact of the Crusaders on Moslem Lands', in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 55; Prawer in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 120, n. 1; J. Richard, *Le Royaume Latin de Jerusalem* (Paris, 1953), 129–30; Richard, 'The Political and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Crusader States', in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 226.

[42] G. Dodu, *Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques dans le Royaume Latin de Jerusalem, 1099–1291* (Paris, 1894), 205 ff.; cf. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 111. According to Sterns (in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 338) the Turcoples were recruited by the Military Orders either from indigenous converts or from mixed native and Latin stock, who served the crusader cause as soldiers.

[43] J. Richard, *La Papauté et les Missions d'Orient au Moyen Age, 13e–15e s.* (Rome, 1977), 7–8, who observes: 'tels les Turcoples, qui faisaient partie de l'élément militaire dans les états latins comme en pays byzantins'; cf. Richard in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 26; Sterns in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 338.

[44] Albert (see n. 38); Ordericus Vitalis, ed. A. le Prevost, IV, 125; cf. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 68. See also above, n. 29.

servants, while their chief task under their commander (*Turcopolier*) was to guard and protect the Latin possessions in the crusader states.[45] As we shall see below, the somewhat degraded social status of the Turcoples appears also in the fourteenth century, in Lusignan Cyprus.

In c.1174 we encounter Turcoples in the forces of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, participating in the abortive crusader operations against Alexandria;[46] in 1179 we learn that in Palestine the Knights Templar possessed a garrison of mounted Turcoples who were given to pillaging a Bedouin tribe under the Order's protection;[47] several years earlier, in c.1165, the Templars had agreed to supply 500 knights and 500 Turcoples to the king of Jerusalem, Amalric I (1163-74), in return for large grants of land,[48] but their role in Amalric's attempt to dispute the mastery of Egypt with the formidable Turkish general, Shirkuh, who led Nureddin's army, was not enough to save the Frankish ruler from disaster.[49] There are two more recorded cases when Turcoples participated in battles against the crusaders' Muslim opponents: in the Egyptian campaign of 1158, about 500 Turcoples and sergeants accompanied a body of 500 Knights Hospitaller,[50] while in 1187, before the fateful battle of Hattin, where Saladin struck a decisive blow against the Latins, a large number of Turcoples were recruited among the forces collected by the king of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan.[51]

There are, however, noteworthy cases of Turcoples distinguishing themselves either as landholders (fief-owners), like the case of the Turcopole who c. 1159/61 became the grantee of a *feudum* near Nablus,[52] or in the service of high officials of the third major military order in the Holy Land, the Teutonic, where there are certain recorded cases of Turcoples serving as shield-bearers, attendants in battle, messengers, chamberlains, etc.[53]

In general, the Turcoples came to play quite a substantial role as regular units in the Latin forces of the Orient, if we take into account the telling phrase of William of Tyre, that they formed the section of the 'light-armed knights or

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[45] Details in Sterns in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 338–9, nn. 36–8.

[46] Hélène Wieruszowsky, 'The Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Crusades', in Setton (ed.), *History*, I, 35.

[47] J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Générale de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, I (Paris, 1894), 378–9, no. 558; R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (Innsbruck, 1893) no. 572; cf. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 125, n. 84.

[48] Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 452: 'quingentos milites et totidem Turcopolos bene armatos'; cf. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 111; Wise, *Wars of the Crusades*, 103.

[49] William of Tyre, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, I, 925; cf. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 184.

[50] Wise, *Wars of the Crusades*, 103.

[51] Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 487, 491–2.

[52] H. F. Delaborde, *Chartes de la Terre Sainte provenant de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat* (Paris, 1880), 80–3, nos 33–5; cf. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 208; Prawer, 'Social Classes in the Crusader States: the Minorities', in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 111.

[53] Details in Sterns in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 327, 329, 338–9 and 341.

horsemen' in crusading armies,[54] as well as the information derived from a letter written in the mid-twelfth century by Gaufredus Fulcherius, procurator of the Templars to the French monarch, Louis VII (1137-80), one of the leaders of the Second Crusade of 1147-9. In this letter the Turcopoles are actually placed together with the *milites* and the *pedites* in the course of the conventional description of the Latin armies by Fulcherius.[55] It was only after the fourteenth century that the term *Turcopole* gradually vanished from Latin documents.[56]

Byzantium and the Balkans: thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

Throughout this crucial period of their history the Tourkopouloi are often mentioned in two fundamental Byzantine sources for the period following the recapture of Constantinople in 1261: George Pachymeres and Nikephoros Gregoras. For the early part of the thirteenth century we obtain important details from the chronicle of the chief Frankish source of the Fourth Crusade, Geoffrey de Villehardouin, who recorded that companies of 'Turcoples from the land of Syria' arrived as reinforcements to Baldwin I of Flanders, following the Latin conquest of the Queen of Cities in April 1204.[57] Villehardouin also testifies that his namesake and first ruler (*mareshall*) of Achaia used '*Turcoples* and mounted archers' in his mid-1206 campaign on the side of Henry of Flanders[58] against tsar Kaloyan in Bulgarian territory.[59] The text of the Frankish chronicler makes it clear at this point that the Turcoples in this case are differentiated from the mounted archers.

The first eponymous Tourkopoulos of the thirteenth century, however, is to be found in the Pontos: an inscription of 1210/11 at Trebizond records the name of *George Tourkopoulos*, but unfortunately almost nothing more is known about him.[60] On the other hand, although Pachymeres and Gregoras provide us with extensive extracts on the Tourkopouloi in Palaiologan service, they seldom record eponymous cases. We have already mentioned the role of the Turcoples in the Catalan raids in Byzantine territory (1305/6); numerous

[54] William of Tyre, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, I, 925, 1097: 'equites levis armaturae, quos Turcopulos vocant'; cf. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 112; Sterns in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 338, n. 33.

[55] G. Fulcherius, ed. Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules* XVI, 60, no. 195; cf. Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 111.

[56] Sterns in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 339.

[57] Villehardouin, ed. E. Faral, II (Paris 1939, repr. 1963), 124–5, §. 316: 'Turchoples ... de la terre de Surie'; cf. J. Godfrey, *1204: the Unholy Crusade* (Oxford, 1980), 138 ff.

[58] He became regent following Baldwin I's capture after the battle of Adrianople (14 April 1205) and assumed imperial office in 1206.

[59] Villehardouin, II, 252–3, §. 438: 'Joffrois ... prist Turcoples et arbalestriens à cheval'; cf. E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel*, I (Homburg v. d. Höhe, 1905, repr. Darmstadt, 1966), 89.

[60] See F. Uspensky, *Očerki po Istorii Trapezundskoi Imperii* (Leningrad, 1929), 142; cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 328.

contingents of Tourkopouloi were to be found among Andronikos II's forces in the early fourteenth century according to the testimony of Pachymeres and Gregoras,[61] and undoubtedly it was among them that Chief Melik established a body of 1000 warriors in order to join the Catalans, thus breaking the agreements with the emperor.[62] Gregoras in particular makes abundant reference to the Tourkopouloi during the latter part of the thirteenth century; they were, he asserts, Christianized followers and descendants of the hapless and fugitive Seljuk sultan of Iconium/Konya, Izz al-Din Kaykawus II (1246-57),[63] and they had distinguished themselves as mercenaries in the troops of the first two Palaiologoi, Michael VIII (1259/61-82) and Andronikos II (1282-1328),[64] from c.1264 onwards.[65] An interesting passage of Gregoras referring

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[61] Pachymeres, II, 590 ff., 600 ff., 608 ff., 631 ff.; Gregoras, I, 224, 228 ff., 232–3, 244. See above, nn. 14–16.

[62] Pachymeres, II, 590; Gregoras, I, 229; cf. below, n. 72.

[63] See O. Turan, 'Keykâvus II', *Islam Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1955), 642–5; Cl. Cahen, 'Kaykaus II', *Encyclopedia of Islam* [2] 4 (1978), 846–7; A. Savvides, Καϊκαούσης Β', *Megale Genike Enkyklopaideia YDRIA;* 30 (1983), 15–16.

[64] Gregoras, I, 101: ὁ περὶ ἐκεῖνον [= 'Αζατίνην, i. e. Kaykawus II] ὄχλος, ἄνδρες δ' οὗτοι μάλα τοι πλεῖστοι καὶ κράτιστοι τὰ πολέμια, τῷ Χριστιανῶν ἀναγεννηθέντες βαπτίσματι, τῇ 'Ρωμαίων συγκαταλέγοντο στρατιᾷ; ibid. 229: καὶ ὅσαι τῶν Τουρκοπούλων φάλαγγες ἦσαν, κατεστρατοπέδευσε [= Michael IX Palaiologos] πρὸς τὸ περὶ τοὺς Ἄπρους πεδίον. Χίλιοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ Τουρκόπουλοι οὗτοι, οἱ τῷ σουλτὰν 'Αζατίνῃ πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους, ὡς εἰρήκημεν, ἠκολούθησαν μὲν αὐτομολήσαντι, ἀπαχθέντι δ' ἐκεῖθεν μετὰ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Σκυθῶν [= Cumans], ὡς δεδήλωται, οὔτε συναπήχθησαν καὶ τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ἀσπασάμενοι συνδιαίτησιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας εἵλοντο βάπτισμα· καὶ ἦσαν τοῦ λοιποῦ τῇ 'Ρωμαίων ἐξεταζόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ στρατιᾷ; cf. Amantos, *Σχέσεις*, 49, 78, n. 2.

[65] Cl. Huart, 'Kaikaus II', *Encyclopedia of Islam* [1] 4 (repr. 1987), 637–8. Kaykawus II and his christianized followers and descendants are associated with the north-western Macedonian city of Beroia (see Zachariadou, Οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ 'Ιζζεδὶν Καικαοὺς Β' στὴν Βέροια, *Makedonika* 6 [1964/5], 62–74; G. Chionides, *'Ιστορία τῆς Βεροίας*, II, [Thessaloniki, 1970], 115–6) and, mainly, with the Christian Turks of the Dobrudja region, better known as Gagauzes or Cagauz Turks on the western coast of the Black Sea. On them see G. Balaščev, 'Ο Αὐτοκράτωρ Μιχαὴλ Η' Παλαιολόγος καὶ τὸ ἱδρυθὲν τῇ συνδρομῇ αὐτοῦ Κράτος τῶν 'Ογούζων παρὰ τὴν Δυτικὴν 'Ακτὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου, *Actes du 3ème Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines/Athens* (Sofia, 1930), esp. p. 19; A. Manov, Ποῖοι εἶνε οἱ Γκαγκαοῦζοι;, *EEBS* 10 (1933), 338–9; P. Wittek, 'La déscendance chrétienne de la dynastie-Seldjouk en Macédoine', *EO* 33 (1934), 409–12; Wittek, 'De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople', *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 12 (1938), 6, n. 1 [= *La Formation de l' Empire Ottoman*, London, 1982, II]; Wittek, 'Les Gagauzes – les gens de Kaykaus', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17 (1951/3), 12–29; Wittek, 'Yazidjioghlu Ali'; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968), 279; Cahen, 'Kaykaus II', *Encyclopedia of Islam*[2] 4, 847; W. Zajaczkowsky, 'Cagauz', *Encyclopedia of Islam* [2] 2 (1965), 971–2; Vryonis, *The Decline*, 442, n. 126; Vryonis, *Studies*, III, 134, n. 3 and X, 162; A. Iordanoglou, Οἱ Γκαγκαοῦζοι καὶ ἡ καταγωγή τους, *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 5 (1984/5, publ. 1987), 391–409, esp. 392. See also P. Mutavčiev, 'Die angebliche Einwanderung von Seldschuk-Türken in die Dobrudscha im 13. Jahr', *Spisanie na Bulgarskata Akademiia na Naukite i Izkustva (Kloni istor.-philolog.)* 66 (1943), 1–129; H. Duda, 'Zeitgenössische islamische Quellen und das Oguzname des Yazyğyoglu Ali zur angeblichen Besiedlung der Dobrudscha im 13. Jahr.', *Spisanie na Bulgarskata Akademiia na Naukite i Izkustva (Kloni istor.-philolog.)* 66 (1943), 131–45. The older relevant literature was utilized by T. Menzel, 'Gagauzes', *Encyclopedia of Islam*[1] 3 (repr. 1987), 127–8; Menzel, 'Gagauzlar', *Islam Ansiklopedisi* 4 (1945), 706–7. Cf. recently Cl. Cahen, 'Points de doute sous les Gagaouzes', *Studia Turcologica Memoriae A. Bombaci* (1982), 89f.; A. Tietze, 'Gagausen', *Lexikon des Mittelalters* IV/5 (1988), 1077–8.

to 'Cuman and Turcople battalions',[66] is to be associated with the mercenaries collected by the *despot* John Palaiologos, brother of the emperor Michael VIII and governor of Rhodes (1261-75),[67] in order to intimidate the autonomous ruler of Thessaly, the sebastokrator John I Angelos Doukas, who, following the death of his father, the Epirot ruler Michael II Angelos Doukas in 1268,[68] had raided imperial territory.[69] Moreover, Gregoras' passage on 'Turcople phalanxes', mentioned above (n.64), indubitably refers to the same events involving Turcoples and Catalans in Thrace as had been recorded by Pachymeres.

The leader of those Turcoples who were involved in the Catalan depredations of imperial lands was a Christianized Seljuk prince, the son of the sultan Kaykawus II; he had received the hellenized name of Melik (i.e. prince) Constantine (Μελὴκ Κωνσταντῖνος),[70] and some time later (1308-10 or 1311),[71] he appears to have emigrated, accompanied by 1,500 of his followers,[72] to Serbian territory, where he was given land and protection by the kral Stefan II Uros Milutin.[73] Gregoras characteristically testifies that Melik Constantine and his followers 'laid down their weapons and – upon the Serbian kral's orders –

[66] Gregoras I, 111: Κομάνων καὶ Τουρκοπούλων τάγματα.

[67] Cf. below, n. 99.

[68] The old date for Michael II's death (1271: cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, 5 vols [Berlin–Munich 1924–65] III, 57, no. 1976; S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* [Cambridge, 1958, repr. 1982], 146; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* [Oxford 1968, 2nd ed.], 457 and table, p. 579; D. Geanakoplos, *Ὁ Αὐτοκράτωρ Μιχαὴλ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ἡ Δύσις* [Athens, 1969], 176; N. Ziangos, *Φεουδαρχικὴ Ἤπειρος καὶ Δεσποτᾶτο τῆς Ἑλλάδας* [Athens, 1974], 134; D. Zakythenos, *Τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀπὸ τοῦ 1071 μέχρι τοῦ 1453* [Athens, 1972, repr. 1980], 122) is incorrect. This was noted 60 years ago by A. Nikarouses, Πότε ἀπέθανε Μιχαὴλ Β' ὁ Ἄγγελος, ὁ Δεσπότης τῆς Ἠπείρου, *DIEE* N. S. I (1928), 136–41, and has been repeatedly established by B. Ferjančić, 'Kada je umro Despot Michail II Angeo?', *ZRVI* 9 (1966), 29–32; D. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968), 94; D. M. Nicol in *Cambridge Medieval History* IV/1 (1966, 2nd ed.), table p. 777; Nicol, *The Last Centuries*, 63, n. 1; Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, II: *1267–1479* (Cambridge, 1984), 9 n. 1; Nicol in *Byzantina* 13 (1985: *Festschrift J. Karayannopoulos*), 755, n. 15. See also A. Failler, 'Chronologie et composition dans l'Histoire de George Pachymère', *REB* 39 (1981), 183–4.

[69] Geanakoplos, *Αὐτοκράτωρ Μιχαὴλ*, 212, dates these raids to 1275; cf. Marino Sanudo *Istoria*, ed. K. Hopf (Berlin, 1873, repr. Athens, 1961), 121.

[70] Pachymeres, II. 612: Μελὴκ Κωνσταντῖνος, τῶν τοῦ σουλτάνου υἱὸς ἄτερος, καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγκαταλέλοιπτο, ὃς δὴ καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ἐκθύμως προσετετήκοι τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἤθεσιν, cf. Amantos, *Σχέσεις*, 49; Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens', 231, n. 81; A. Savvides, Καϊκαούσης Β', *Megali Geniki Enkyklopaideia YDRIA* 30, 16; *PLP* 7 (1985), no. 17762.

[71] Marino Sanudo (ed. A. Cerlini, 'Nuove Lettere di Marino Sanudo il Vecchio', *Bibliofilia: Rivista di Storia del Libro e delle Arti Grafiche di Bibliofilia e Erudizione* 42 [1940], 352) records about 1800 mounted Turcoples and archers in the Catalan army for the year 1311: 'cum Cathelanis erant bene circa M. VIII. C. homines ad equum inter Turchos, Turchopolos et mortatos, quod quilibet generatio morabatur per se et per se rectorem habebat. Sed Cathelani erant et regebant super omnes'; cf. Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens', 232, n. 90.

[72] Gregoras, I, 254 ff. (χιλίοις ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεντακοσίοις πεζοῖς), Pachymeres, II, 590 (οἷς [= Catalans] δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄνω ῥηθέντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους ὄντες Τουρκόπουλοι προσεχώρησαν); cf. Paparregopoulos, *Ἱστορία*, V/1, 152.

[73] See Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens', 232, n. 90, 233, n. 94, 234.

surrendered to him all their horses and took to leading private lives, unless, when times of war necessitated it, they should take up their arms and accompany the armies of the Triballi [i.e. Serbians] in such numbers as would be defined by him [i.e. the kral]'.[74] There survives, however, a precious document which indicates that even by the period 1330-4 descendants of these Turcoples were participating in Catalan operations in Thessaly.[75]

Towards the end of the thirteenth century a certain number of Turcople settlers mingled with the Turcophone populations of the *Vardariotes* or Vardariot Turks in the territories of river Axios (Vardar) in western Macedonia,[76] an area associated since much earlier (the mid tenth century) with the Βαρδαριῶται, i.e. settlers of Hungarian origins who had been settled in the Vardar valley during the reign of the emperor Romanos I Lekapenos in c. 934;[77] they were, as Arnold Toynbee remarked, 'Turkish-speaking converts to Orthodox Christianity',[78] and appear often in Byzantine sources from 1020 onwards.[79]

Cyprus and Rhodes: twelfth to fourteenth centuries

The last important chapter in the history of the Turcoples is that which associates them with Cyprus and Rhodes from the turn of the thirteenth century onwards. The term which begins to be adopted here to signify light-armed cavalry corps or a guard of light horsemen is *Turcopoles* or *Turcopoliers*, evidently a latinized paraphrase of the Greek *Tourkopo(u)loi*, although our Western sources do not clarify in this case whether they were of Turkish origin or whether, as is most probable, they were composed of local (i.e.

[74] Gregoras, I, 254: τά τε ὅπλα ἔθεντο καὶ τὴν ἵππον πᾶσαν παρέδοσαν τῷ Κράλῃ Σερβίας κελεύσαντι καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν τινὰ ζῆν προσετάχθησαν βίον, πλὴν ἐν μόνῳ πολέμου καὶ χρείας ταύτης καιρῷ τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνοντες, ὅσους ἂν ἐπιτάξοιεν αὐτός, ἕπεσθαι τῷ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν στρατεύματι.

[75] F. Kunstmann (ed.), 'Studien über Marino Sanudo in älteren, mit einem Anhange seiner ungedruckten Briefe', *Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7 (1853), 778 (18 April 1330) and 810 (letter of Sanudo, dated to 22 October 1334): 'Verum alii Turchi, velut Turchopuli, qui erant in Almiro cum societate Cathellanorum discendentes ab ipsis utrique numero circa milesimo fuerunt mortui et consumpti'; cf. Jacoby, 'Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens', 259, n. 253.

[76] Vryonis, *The Decline*, 441, 442, n. 126; Vryonis, *Studies*, III, 130, 138 and X, 162.

[77] Cf. N. Oikonomidès, 'Vardariotes: Hongrois installés dans la Vallée du Vardar en 934', *Südost-Forschungen* 32 (1973), 1–8; G. Theocharides, *Ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας κατὰ τοὺς Μέσους Χρόνους, 285–1354* (Thessaloniki, 1980), 308–9. For relevant bibliography up to 1958 see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II, 86–7.

[78] A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London, Oxford, 1973), 102, n. 3.

[79] Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 86; Oikonomidès, 'Vardariotes', 8, n. 25. Older scholars (Paparregopoulos, *Ἱστορία*, IV/2, 53; N. Kalomenopoulos, 'Βαρδαριῶται', *Megale Elleniki Enkyklopaideia PYRSOU* 6, 688; R. Janin, 'Les Turcs Vardariotes', *EO* 29, 1930, 437–9) took literally the characterization of Βαρδαριῶται as Persians [Persai = Turks] in the Byzantine sources of the ninth century onwards (detailed refs in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 332) and therefore considered them 'Persians', i. e. Iranians. It was S. Kyriakides, 'Η Ἀχριδὼ καὶ ἡ ἐπισκοπή της· οἱ Τοῦρκοι Βαρδαριῶται, *Byzantinai Meletai* 2–4, (Thessaloniki, 1939), 251–8, who correctly stressed the Hungarian origin of the Vardariot Turks; cf. the almost contemporaneous study by V. Laurent,

Christian) populations. It seems that the term *Turcopoliers* was now employed in a generic sense to mean 'light-armed mounted archers' or 'light cavalry guards', particularly in Cyprus and Rhodes.[80]

It was shortly after the removal of the usurper Isaac Komnenos and the brushing aside of the local nobility by the Frankish newcomers in 1191 that we first hear of Turcoples in Cyprus, whose main task was to patrol the island's coastal territories. According to the chronicler Eracles, the first Lusignan ruler there, Guy I (1192-4), distributed fiefs to Frankish knights bringing in 400 'white bezants' (silver coins) each, while a Turcopole who had in his possession two horses and a coat of mail received a fief bringing in 300 pieces of silver as annual revenue.[81] More than a decade later we learn that king Hugh I Lusignan (1205-18) led many Cypriot Turcoples when he participated in the abortive Fifth Crusade of 1217-21 on the side of the Hungarian monarch, Andrew II (1205-35).[82]

As was noted above, the Turcoples of Cyprus seem to have occupied quite an important place in the local Frankish armies in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although they were invariably descended from non-noble local classes, largely drawn from among the native population, while their chief officer was always a Frank, bearing the impressive title of Grand Turcopolier,[83] encountered only in Cyprus according to J. Richard.[84] The

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'Ο Βαρδαριωτῶν ἤτοι Τούρκων. Perses, Turcs asiatiques ou Turcs Hongrois', *Sbornik v pamet P. Nikov* (Sofia, 1940), 255–89. This has been accepted ever since: Amantos, *Ἱστορία* II, 111; G. Konidares, 'Η πρώτη μνεία τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Βαρδαριωτῶν Τούρκων ὑπὸ τὸν Θεσσαλονίκης, *Theologia* 23 (1952), 87–94 and 236–8; G. Moravcsik, in *Cambridge Medieval History* IV/1(1966, 2nd ed.), 570; Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte*, 61–3, 64, 66, n. 2, 68; D. Zakythenos, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία* I: *324–1071* (Athens, 1972, repr. 1977), 282, 288; Oikonomidès, 'Vardariotes'; J. Karayannopoulos, *Ἱστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους*, II (Thessaloniki, 1981, 2nd ed.), 379; Karayannopoulos in M. Sakellariou (ed.) *ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ. 4000 χρόνια ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας καὶ πολιτισμοῦ* (Athens, 1982), 321. Recently, however, C. Kyrris, *Τουρκία καὶ Βαλκάνια* (Athens, 1986), 38, accepts the view expressed by M.T. Gökbilgin in the latter's 1957 Istanbul monograph on the Yuruks, Tartars and descendants of the Ottoman conquerors in Rumelia [*Rumeli 'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*], i. e. that the Vardariots were Anatolian Turks (Seljuks etc.) who were transported to western Thrace and the areas of the Axios by the Byzantines already from the tenth century onwards, but mainly in the period following the battle of Manzikert in 1071.

[80] See G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 4 vols (Cambridge 1948–52, repr. 1972), II, 40, n. 1, 54; E. Furber, 'The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191–1291', in Setton (ed.), *History*, II, 603, 620; Th. Papadopoullos, Τὸ μεσαιωνικὸ βασίλειο τῆς Κύπρου, *Istoria tou Ellenikou Ethnous* 9 (1979), 314.

[81] Eracles, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* II, 191–2; cf. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 40, 54; Furber, 'Kingdom of Cyprus', 603. Papadopoullos, Μεσαιωνικὸ βασίλειο, 302, 314, writes that Guy I 'distributed 300 *fiefs* among his Frankish nobility and 200 *pronoiai* to 200 cavalrymen and Turcoples', but does not cite his source. It would be interesting to ascertain that the term *pronoia*, clearly of Byzantine origin, was in use in Lusignan Cyprus.

[82] Th. van Cleve, 'The Fifth Crusade', in Setton (ed.), *History*, II, 388, 424.

[83] Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 40, n. 2 and 773–4 for the period of Venetian occupation (1489 onwards) with a chart bearing a detailed analysis of the island's military forces of various kinds for the period 1500–62 (here the Turcoples are estimated at between 150 and 380 according to the sources).

[84] Richard, *Royaume Latin*, 129–30; idem in Setton (ed.), *History*, V, 126, n. 148. We have seen that a Turcopolier commanded the Turcople auxiliaries in the crusader states (above, n. 45). Cf. also below, n. 100, for the case of Rhodes.

institution of recruiting Turcoples among the Cypriot population, however, was gradually to lose its originally feudal characteristics, as Th. Papadopoullos has pointed out.[85]

Eponymous cases of Turcoples in mid thirteenth-century Cyprus have come down to us through a precious Latin document, the codex of *Querini Stampalia*, dated to c.1236-47,[86] which records a certain *Benevenutus Trecopolus* and a *Fuszerius Trecopoli*, who had been allotted some property in the province of Limassol: respectively, the Church of Santa Corona (*Sanctus Coronata*)[87] and the *casale* of Saint Akindynos (*Sancti Anchidini*).[88] The most detailed information on Cypriot Turcoples, however, is drawn from perhaps the best known among late medieval Cypriot chroniclers, Leontios Machairas, whose adoption of the latinized terms *Turcopoles/Turcopoliers* is echoed in his frequent use of forms like Τουρκοπουλιέρηδες and Τουρκοπουλίζαι, although in also using Τουρκοποῦλλοι, he seems additionally to be aware of the original Greek term.[89]

Of particular importance is Machairas' testimony concerning the Cypriot 'mounted Turcoples',[90] whose office (rank) belonged not to those received upon the king's coronation (and therefore held for life, such as marshal, seneschal, butler or chamberlain), but to those granted on other occasions and, therefore, subject to removal at any time, 'such as admiral, auditor, collector, turcopolier ...'.[91]

The best known among fourteenth-century Turcopoliers in Cyprus was a certain James (Jacques) de Norès (μισὲρ Τζάκε τε Νόρες), who in 1361 was appointed first governor of Attaleia/Antalya by King Peter I Lusignan (1359-69),[92] following the Lusignan capture (1361-73) of that important coastal town of south-western Anatolia from the Turcoman Emirates of Tekke and Hamid;[93]

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[85] Papadopoullos, Μεσαιωνικὸ βασίλειο, 314.

[86] Cf. commentary by the document's recent editor, Eutychia Papadopoulou, Οἱ πρῶτες ἐγκαταστάσεις Βενετῶν στὴν Κύπρο, *Symmeikta Kentrou Vyzantinon Ereunon/ EIE (National Research Foundation)* 5 (1983), 304.

[87] Papadopoulou, ed., 'Πρῶτες ἐγκαταστάσεις', 314, lines 190–1 (Latin text), 319, 321 and chart, 331. Cf. M. L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Isle de Chypre*, 3 vols (Paris 1853, repr. Famagusta 1970), I, 44.

[88] Papadopoulou, ed., 314, lines 206–7 (Latin text), 319, and chart, 331.

[89] Machairas, ed. R. Dawkins, I (Oxford, 1932), 54, 108, 238 (τουρκοποῦλλοι), 78, 108, 110, 112, 182, 184, 186, 562 (τουρκοπουλιέρης), 184, (τουρκοπουλίζης).

[90] Machairas, I, 54: τουρκοπούλλους ἀπάνω εἰς τὰ ἄλογα.

[91] Machairas, I, 78: ὅσα ὀφίκια πάρουν εἰς τὸ στέψιμον τοῦ ρηγὸς ἔχουν τα ὅλην τους τὴν ζωήν· ἀμμὲ ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου δὲν τὰ παίρνουν εἰς τὸ κουρουνίασμαν, ἐμπορεῖ ὁ ρήγας νὰ τοὺς ἐβγάλη ὅταν νὰ θελήση. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτον ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὀφίκια ἐκράζαν τα τοῦ ρηγάτου, ὡς γοιὸν μαριτζᾶν, σινεσκάρδον, πουντιλλιέρης, τζαμπερλάνος. Εἰ δὲ τὰ ἄλλα λέγουνται τῆς Κύπρου, ὡς γοιὸν ἀμιράλλης, ἀδετούρης, πράχτορας, τουρκοπουλιέρης.

[92] Machairas, I, 106–8: τότες ὡρδινίασεν [= Peter I] τὸν μισὲρ Τζάκε τε Νόρες τὸν Τουρκοπουλιέρην τζιβιτάνον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον [= Attaleia] καὶ ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν συντροφίαν του πολλοὺς καβαλλάριδες καὶ τουρκοπούλλους καὶ πολλοὺς τζακρατόρους νὰ βλέπουν τὸν τόπον.

[93] Machairas, I, 101 ff.; cf. A. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 326–7; Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 321 ff.; K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, I (Philadelphia, 1976), 40 ff.

de Norès' harsh measures, however, seem to have stirred popular discontent in Attaleia and, despite his heroic stand against the intense efforts of the Tekke emir to recapture the town,[94] he was ultimately replaced by admiral Sir John de Sur (σὶρ Τζουὰν Τεσοὺρ τὸν ἀμιράλλην) in mid-1362.[95] We encounter, however, this active Turcople once more in Machairas' pages in 1367 in the presence of the Mameluk sultan of Egypt, al-Ashraf Shaban, at Cairo, following the brief Lusignan capture of Alexandria in 1365; de Norès headed Peter I's peace delegation to al-Ashraf and, according to Machairas' long account, his bold manners temporarily caused him to be chastised and maltreated; soon, however, an emir intervened on his behalf, stressing to his sultan that the Mameluks should retain commercial relations with the Lusignans, and eventually de Norès was freed and a pact agreed.[96]

Finally the Turcoples are associated with the Hospitaller Order of the Knights of Saint John in Jerusalem (until their expulsion from Palestine in 1291) and in Rhodes from the early fourteenth century.[97] It is in A.D. 1306 that we hear of six light cavalrymen (Turcopoliers)[98] participating in the Order's operations against Rhodes, an expedition which was to end with the Hospitaller takeover of the island in 1309/10.[99] It seems that the Order henceforward considered those Turcoples as well as their descendants indispensable for the preservation of their new precious acquisition. As in the case of Cyprus under the Lusignans (see n. 83), here too, Turcopoliers, most probably under a Grand Turcopolier, by now considered among the highest commanding posts in the Hospitaller régime,[100] were entrusted, regardless of their racial origin,[101] with the protection of the island's coasts against imminent pirate raids.[102]

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[94] Machairas, I, 10; cf. Atiya, *The Crusade*, 328; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, I, 248, 249, n. 123, 261 ff., 282, 287.

[95] Machairas, I, 110–12.

[96] Machairas, I, 183–7.

[97] I find the surmise of G. Martines, *Ἱστορία τοῦ 13ου αἰώνα τῆς Ρόδου καὶ τῶν γύρω νησιῶν* (Rhodes, 1979), 54, that the first *Turcoples* arrived on Rhodes after 1275 with the commencement of Kribikiotes' government there (appointed by Michael VIII Palaiologos), rather arbitrary.

[98] 'Six Levantine horsemen' according to A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306–1421', in Setton (ed.), *History*, III, 283 [=*The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291–1440*, London, 1978, I].

[99] See A. Savvides, 'Rhodes from the End of the Gabalas Rule to the Conquest by the Hospitallers, A.D. c. 1250–1309', *The 17th International Byzantine Congress/ Washington, 3–8 Aug. 1986. Abstracts of Short Papers*, 308–9. See also Savvides, in *Byzantinos Domos* 2 (1988), 199–232, with detailed references.

[100] H. Inalcik, 'The Rise of the Turcoman Maritime Principalities in Anatolia, Byzantium and Crusades', *ByzForsch* 9 (1985), 213, n. 112.

[101] Ch. Papachristodoulou, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ρόδου* (Athens, 1972), 274 and n. 1: 'irrespective of their being Turks or Greeks'.

[102] Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 201; Papachristodoulou, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ρόδου*, 274; Luttrell, 'Hospitallers at Rhodes', 278; E. Kolias, Τὰ Δωδεκάνησα, 1204–1522, *Istoria tou Ellenikou Ethnous* 9, 292.

8

The question of Constantine Palaiologos' coronation

Michael Kordoses

When the emperor John VIII Palaiologos died in October 1448, his brother Constantine was in the Peloponnese. There, in January 1449, he was crowned as emperor, at Mystras, by the metropolitan of the town. According to Georgios Sphrantzes some *archontes* were sent to the capital of the despotate, where *βασιλέα πεποιήκασιν* ... τὸν δεσπότην κῦρ Κωνσταντῖνον.[1] According to Pseudo-Phrantzes [2] and the Chronica Breviora [3] the *archontes* had been sent to Mystras in order to crown (καὶ ἔστεψαν) Constantine as emperor. It is thus obvious that a ceremony took place in the Peloponnese.[4]

One of the reasons for this 'unusual step' and 'surprising action'[5] was that on John's death Constantine's brother Demetrios hastened to Constantinople from Selymbria to claim the succession.[6] However, Constantine was never officially crowned emperor in Constantinople on his arrival in the capital of Byzantium or later. For this assumption there is no room for doubt, since

[1] Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966), 72.

[2] Pseudo-Phrantzes, *Chronicon Maius*, 348 (appendix to Georgios Sphrantzes).

[3] P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I (Wien, 1975), 269: καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλαν δύο ἄρχοντες ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν, κῦρ Ἀλέξιον Λάσκαριν τὸν Φιλανθρωπηνόν ... καὶ κῦρ Μανουὴλ Παλαιολόγον τὸν Γιάγαριν, καὶ ἦλθαν εἰς τὸν Μυζηθρᾶν καὶ ἔστεψαν τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Κωνσταντῖνον εἰς τὰς ς' τοῦ ἰανουαρίου μηνός.

[4] A. Christophilopoulou, Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοὺ Βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, *Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 22 (Athens, 1956), 204, where the meaning of the word στέφω in the late Byzantine period is discussed (proclamation, crowning and unction). Cf. S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople* (Cambridge, 1965), 52; G. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), 372; G. Mijatovich, *Constantine Palaeologus, the Last Emperor of the Greeks, 1448–1453* (Chicago, 1968), 85; D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453* (London, 1972), 390; D. Nicol, *The End of the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1979), 84. In a sigil, in favour of Georgios Plethon's sons, the new emperor signs as Κωνσταντῖνος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος (S. Kougeas, Χρυσόβουλλον Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου πρωτόγραφον καὶ ἀνέκδοτον δι' οὗ ἐπικυροῦνται δωρεαὶ εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Γεμιστοῦ (1449), *Hell* 1 (1928), 375.

[5] G. Gill, *Council*, 372. Some scholars do not accept that this ceremony was a real coronation ceremony; see K. Pitsakis, Ἡ στέψη στόν Μυστρά του Κωνσταντίνου ΙΑ Παλαιολόγου, *Byzantinai Meletai* 2, 122ff.

[6] Laonicus Chalcocondyles, *Historiarum libri decem*, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1843), 373.

many contemporary writers mention it.[7] Most scholars accept, therefore, that the division among the residents of Constantinople over the problem of union was the main reason for the unofficial ceremony in Mystras; a new coronation in Constantinople by a unionist patriarch would intensify the friction between the unionists and the anti-unionists.

Recently M. Carroll has proposed another suggestion about the emperor's intention: 'Constantine expected to celebrate his marriage soon after his accession and he had both precedent and good reasons of financial and political expediency for delaying his official coronation until both ceremonies could be performed on the same occasion'.[8] Carroll's view is very interesting. However, an imperial coronation, whenever it happened, presupposed the existence of an ecumenical patriarch and I think that this is the real issue. In this short article I shall attempt to examine this question, relying, mainly, on a notice written by a contemporary author, Theodoros Agallianos.[9]

Theodoros Agallianos' notice is the only source to inform us why the emperor was not officially crowned in Constantinople: the patriarchal see was vacant and therefore it was impossible to have a coronation ceremony.[10] This notice was written on 13 September 1452, [11] a whole year after the departure of the last patriarch, Gregory III, who abandoned his see in August 1451, and retired to Rome.[12] Agallianos considered that the patriarchal see was vacant on account

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[7] Michael Ducas, *Historia Byzantina*, *CSHB* (Bonn, 1834), 223, 225. See also 234: οὔπω γὰρ ἦν στεφθεὶς ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ στεφθῆναι ἔμελλε. J. Eugenikos, Εἰς τὸν Βασιλέα κῦρ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Παλαιολόγον, in Sp. Lampros ed., *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, I (Athens, 1912), 123 ff; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, II, 636.

[8] M. Carroll, 'Constantine XI Palaeologus: Some Problems of Image', in *Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, ed. A. Moffatt (Canberra, 1984), 338: 'To combine two separately very expensive ceremonies was good sense in a time of severe financial crisis. With the expected marriage would come a rich dowry and so the occasion of the marriage could be expected to provide both the right moment and the finance for the constitutionally conventional coronation ceremony in Saint Sophia'.

[9] Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, II, 635: 'Die Chronik stammt aus einem heute verlorenem Codex des Theodoros Agallianos, den Nikolaos Karatzas im 18. Jh. teilweise kopierte; vgl. Ch. G. Patrineles, *Ὁ Θεόδωρος Ἀγαλλιανὸς ταυτιζόμενος πρὸς τὸν Θεοφάνην Μηδείας καὶ οἱ ἀνέκδοτοι λόγοι του* (Athens, 1966), 50–51. Der hier abgedruchte Text aus der heute ebenfalls verschollenen Karatzas-Handschrift folgt der Edition von Sophronios Eustratiades, Ἐκ τοῦ χρονικοῦ Νικολάου Καρατζᾶ, *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 6 (1910), 204–206'.

[10] Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, II, 636: Γέγραπται ταῦτα ὅν εἴρηται χρόνον, βασιλεύοντος τοῦ ὑστάτου τῶν Παλαιολόγων Κωνσταντίνου τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ, ἔτι ἀστεφοῦς ὄντος διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μὴ ἔχειν προστάτην, ἠρημωμένην οὖσαν καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ σύγχυσιν τὴν ἐπισαχθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ψευδωνύμου ἑνώσεως, ἣν εἰργάσατο ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτάδελφος αὐτοῦ κῦρ Ἰωάννης ὁ Παλαιολόγος.

[11] Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, II, 635: Ἐγράφη ταῦτα ἐν ἔτει ς ξα', ἰνδικτιῶνος α', Σεπτεμβρίου ιγ', καθ' ὅν μῆνα ἀπαρτισθέντος παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου ἀσεβοῦς ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλῳ κτισθέντος Κάστρου ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν εἰς Ἀδριανούπολιν.

[12] Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 82; Runciman, *The Fall*, 54; Nicol, *Fall*, 392; Carroll, 'Constantine', 340.

of the turmoil and confusion which followed the Council of Florence. Consequently, we can state as a first indirect conclusion that the ecclesiastical controversy over the union was the reason for delaying the official coronation ceremony. The tension in Constantinople during the few years before the Turkish conquest was very great. The anti-unionists preferred to die at Turkish hands rather than make any concession to the friends of the Union. They even refused to commemorate the emperor's name in the churches. The unionists, on the other hand, supported with zeal the emperor's pro-union policy, because they thought it was the only way for Constantinople to survive. This friction caused the patriarch's departure to Rome and, also, the resignation of the anti-unionists' champion Georgios Scholarios, who retired first to private life and then to a monastery, with the name of Gennadios.

According to Agallianos' notice it is reasonable to presume that, following Gregory's departure, the anti-unionists put less pressure on Constantine about the coronation ceremony, because now the first problem was the election of a new patriarch. For it was not possible to arrange an official ceremony without the presence of the ecumenical patriarch. The pressure on Constantine was now indirect and probably the emperor was in a sense relieved of the obligation to be officially crowned. The anti-unionists on the other hand were now pleased, because orthodox clergy had removed the patriarch. In fact, as becomes clear from a letter addressed to Constantine by John Eugenikos, the anti-unionists insisted, before the departure of Gregory III, on the form of the coronation ceremony, questioning indirectly Constantine's right to call himself emperor, although their real target was the heretical patriarch.

The coronation was the means to achieve this purpose, that is to force the emperor to drop Gregory and then to be crowned by an orthodox patriarch. John Eugenikos reminds Constantine that the emperor is *the protector of the pure faith*[13] only when, at the time of his coronation, he gives to the patriarch βασιλικὸν χρυσόβουλλον and ὁμολογίαν ἔγγραφον for the maintenance of orthodoxy. John Eugenikos asks *who is the patriarch who will crown and anoint him with the holy myrrh and will accept his confession of faith*, since for ten years the church has not had an orthodox patriarch but an ἀλλοτριόφρονα and ἑτερόδοξον.[14]

John Eugenikos makes it clear: Constantine is the protector of orthodoxy and it is not possible for a Byzantine emperor to be crowned by a heretical patriarch. He urges him to clarify his position and reveal his intentions.[15] After

[13] J. Eugenikos, *Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα*, 124: Ἔστι δὲ βάσις καὶ ὀρθῶν δογμάτων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Χριστοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκδικητὴς καὶ δεφένσωρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ καλεῖται καὶ ἔστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῆς ὑγιοῦς καὶ ἀκραιφνοῦς πίστεως πρόμαχος.

[14] Eugenikos, *Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα*, 125–6. I. K. Βογιατζίδου, Περὶ τῆς στέψεως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, *Laografia* 7 (1923), 452. It is obvious that John Eugenikos is reproaching Constantine for not taking decisive measures against Gregory III.

[15] Eugenikos, *Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα*, 125: Διά τί ἀμφογνοίαις ἔτι ταῦτα; Carroll, 'Constantine', 336.

such pressure, it was not easy for the emperor to support the patriarch, who left for Rome, where 'he poured out complaints against the lukewarm imperial regime'.[16]

Now the cause for delaying the coronation ceremony did not depend merely on the intentions of the emperor but, as the anti-unionist Agallianos writes, on the lack of an ecumenical patriarch. The anti-unionists could not directly deny Constantine's right to pursue a pro-union policy on the grounds that he was not officially crowned and anointed; they could no longer rely on the conventions in order to reach the real target, that is the 'heretical' patriarch.

Perhaps the anti-unionists hoped that the emperor would go a step further and establish an orthodox patriarch but of course this was not the emperor's intention. On the contrary, Constantine favoured the union, since it was the link with the West from which help might come. He followed a middle course,[17] only because he feared that otherwise he would inflame the religious discord.[18]

The patriarch's departure was the first and the last step to be taken with the emperor's approval. When, in September 1452, Agallianos wrote his notice there was still no patriarch in Constantinople.[19] It is mainly for this reason that I follow the opinion of those scholars who believe that after Constantine's accession to the throne, no orthodox patriarch was elected.[20] If, by that time, a patriarchal election had taken place the anti-unionist writer of the notice would have mentioned it.

Early in 1452, Mehmet ordered the building of a fortress known to the Turks as Boghaz-Kesen (now Rumeli-Hisar) which was completed on 31 August 1452. When the construction of this castle was completed many anti-unionists began

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[16] Runciman, *The Fall*, 54.

[17] Carroll, 'Constantine', 342: 'In each case he used the historic agreement of 1439 on Union as a platform on which to justify his appeals to Western Christendom for material aid to his city, while at the same time he tried to defuse the situation at home by delaying the implementation of the union. This procrastination brought a sharp response from Pope Nicholas V. In a letter to Constantine dated October 1451, the Pope expresses the optimism felt initially by Roman churchmen that Constantine's accession would speed up the implementation of Union. This, in fact, had not happened and the emperor's silence on the matter ("silentio tegitur") has not done his cause any good in Rome'.

[18] G. Gill, 'Eleven Emperors of Byzantium Seek Union with the Church of Rome', in Gill, *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium (1204–1453)* (London, 1979), XIX, 84; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 391; Carroll 'Constantine', 339.

[19] Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, 636: διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μὴ ἔχειν προστάτην.

[20] As is known, Leon Allatios published certain records, according to which, in 1450, a new orthodox patriarch, Athanasios, abbot of the Peribleptos monastery was elected in Hagia Sophia, with the participation of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem (J. Dräseke, 'Zum Kircheneinigungsversuch des Jahres 1439', *BZ* 5 (1896), 580 ff.; L. Petit, Chr. Papaioannou, Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς οὕτω λεγομένης ὑστάτης ἐν Ἁγίᾳ Σοφίᾳ συνόδου (1450) καὶ ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἀξία αὐτῶν, *EO* 4 (1900–1), 127–8. But see *VV* 2 (1895), 414: "Οτι ἀπὸ πολὺν καιρὸν πατριάρχην δὲν ἔχομεν, ὅτι ὁ πατριάρχης ὅπου ἦτον θελληματικῶς ζῶντός του ἀφῆκε τὸ σκαμνὶ του καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἄλλον δὲν ἐκάμαμε.

to change their opinion about the council of Florence, because they realized that only the West could send military aid to Constantinople. At that moment it was not easy for the anti-unionists to put any pressure on the emperor, although Georgios Scholarios and some other extremists were still against the union. Pope Nicholas sent Cardinal Isidore, former metropolitan of Kiev, to Constantinople in mid 1452, where on 12 December 1452, in St Sophia, in the presence of the emperor and the court, a concelebration of the Catholic and Orthodox liturgy took place. The names of Pope Nicholas and the absent Patriarch Gregory were commemorated. It was in vain, for after some months Mehmet besieged and occupied the city.[21]

In conclusion, we can say that during the conflict between unionists and anti-unionists, Constantine, following a balanced and therefore not easy course, preferred not to be officially crowned in Constantinople, on account of the religious division among the residents of the capital. He probably favoured the flight of the patriarch Gregory III to Rome, in order to reduce the pressure from the anti-unionists. After the patriarch's departure, therefore, it was more urgent for the Constantinopolitans to have the election of a new patriarch than to celebrate the emperor's coronation.

[21] Ducas, *Historia*, 252, 255: Ἐν τῇ συμφωνίᾳ οὖν αὐτῇ ἔστερξαν τοῦ γενέσθαι λειτουργίαν κοινὴν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τελεσθεῖσα παρ' Ἰταλῶν καὶ Γραικῶν, καὶ μνημονεύσαντες τὸν πάπαν Νικόλαον ἐν τοῖς διπτύχοις καὶ τὸν ἐξόριστον πατριάρχην Γρηγόριον. See Gill, *Council*, 382ff.; Gill, 'Eleven Emperors', 84; Runciman, *Fall*, 66ff.; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 396 ff.; Carroll, 'Constantine', 341–2.

Part III

History of the past: medieval and modern approaches

9

History as myth: medieval perceptions of Venice's Roman and Byzantine past

T.S. Brown

The history of Venice is like a pantomime horse, with a midget occupying the forequarters and a giant the rear part. In other words a tremendous degree of attention is paid to the glorious later history of the city, from about the thirteenth century onwards, when Venice possessed a vast overseas empire and was one of the three or four richest and most powerful independent city-states in Italy, and comparatively little to the obscure but still important early centuries of Venice's development.[1] It is a pity that this hiatus in Venetian historiography exists, although it is understandable that it should have developed. There is clearly a quantum leap in Venice's power and wealth round about the early thirteenth century, the period of Venice's successful involvement in the Fourth Crusade, and undoubtedly the early period bristles with problems: the evidence is more scanty than we would like, and as regards indigenous sources they are generally late and unreliable. There is also the overwhelming problem of Venice's relations with the Byzantine Empire: was the city a dutiful subject of Byzantium throughout this period, or a *de facto* independent state which only feigned allegiance to the empire when it suited its material interests?

Specialists on Byzantium and on early medieval Italy have tended to fight shy of studying Venice, regarding it as an utterly distinctive case with largely intractable problems. One notable exception here is Donald Nicol's ***Byzantium and Venice***, whose early chapters represent a valuable attempt to disentangle the involved relationship between the eastern empire and its precocious western 'province'.[2]

However one aspect of the early history of Venice that deserves greater study is the Venetians' fascination with their own past, not least because it may offer

An earlier version of this paper was delivered to the Medieval Cities Colloquium: *Venice in the Middle Ages*, held at the University of Edinburgh in May 1990, and benefited greatly from the reaction and suggestions of the participants. It is pleasingly appropriate that it should appear in a volume of essays dedicated to Donald Nicol in view of the several happy years he spent at Edinburgh and also because he introduced me to the rewarding field of Byzantine studies.

[1] A case in point is the otherwise excellent self-styled 'general history of Venice' by F.C. Lane, *Venice. A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973) which devotes a mere eight pages to 'the beginnings' up to 1000 A.D.

[2] D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice. A Study in Byzantine Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*

instructive parallels with other Italian cities. The towns of northern and part of southern Italy retained a major political, social and cultural role throughout the early middle ages, but were faced with the problem of defining and strengthening their identity in the face of outside pressures, and later with that of legitimating their achievement of virtual independence in the communal period (late eleventh and twelfth centuries). In Venice's case its historians, propagandists and mythmakers built up an elaborate legend of Venice's origins and early history and were convinced that it was the key to the distinctiveness and the success of their remarkable city. This kind of interpretation has been rather unfashionable among contemporary historians until recently: the great French historian Marc Bloch denounced what he termed 'the tyranny of origins' and argued forcefully that men were shaped by the events and forces of their own times, quoting an Arab proverb to the effect that men resemble their times more than their fathers.[3] Fortunately historians have now reacted against this view, and without defending an antiquarian preoccupation with origins *per se*, have built the study of origin myths and the related subject of the 'invention of tradition' into a respectable branch of history which can reveal much about the belief structures which gave a society coherence and identity. In the middle ages ethnic groups or *gentes* developed potent myths (or *mythomoteurs*) about their early history in order to give their identity a focus in the past and also often some legitimating role in the prestigious past of the Greco-Roman world.[4] Certainly the Venetians cared passionately about their history because like most medieval people they inherited from the ancient world the substantialist notion that the germ, or essence, of a society's present, and perhaps of its later greatness, lay in its early development. What is most remarkable is that they appear to have been the first local semi-urban community in the West to evolve this belief that the historical child is father to the contemporary man into a constitutive political myth based on an elaborate and imaginative set of beliefs about their past.[5] Earlier 'myth-symbol complexes'

(Cambridge, 1988). A distinguished contribution was made to the study of Veneto-Byzantine relations by the late Agostino Pertusi: see his 'L'impero bizantino e l'evolvere di suoi interessi nell'alto Adriatico', *Le origini di Venezia* (Florence, 1964), 59–63, reprinted in V. Branca (ed.), *Storia della civiltà veneziana*, I (Florence, 1979), 297–305, and his 'Cultura bizantina a Venezia', *Storia della cultura veneta. Dalle origini al trecento* (Vicenza, 1976), 326–49.

[3] M. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester, 1953), 35.

[4] The bibliography on this subject is now vast. A number of key studies from very different perspectives include T. Ranger (ed.) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1985); G. Loud, 'The Gens Normannorum – myth or reality?', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, 4 (1981), 104–16; H. Wolfram and W. Pohl (eds), *Typen der Ethnogenesis* (Vienna, 1990), H. Wolfram, '*Origo et religio*. Ethnic traditions and literature in early medieval texts', forthcoming in *Early Medieval Europe*, 3 (1993); A.D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986); and E. Tonkin, M. McDonald and M. Chapman (eds), *History and Ethnicity* (London, 1989).

[5] There were, however, from the end of the eleventh century, other cases of the reconstruction of a complex and usable local past in cities such as Pisa and Genoa: C. Wickham, 'The Sense of the Past in Italian Communal Narratives' in P. Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), 173–89.

or *mythomoteurs* were dynastic in character and later 'communal' examples in Italian cities such as Florence were later and more limited in scope.[6]

It is therefore worthwhile examining some examples of the way Venetians looked at their remote past, and the degree to which the powerful myth which grew up fostered the city's unity and pride. But first an outline has to be given of the reality of Venice's history. This is not at all easy because the sources are very limited. Local documents are rare before the eleventh century and that is also the period of our first real history. As one writer has observed: 'one of the most infuriating aspects of early Venetian history is the regularity with which truth and legend pursue separate courses'.[7] However the study of what actually happened in early Venetian history has made remarkable strides in the last half-century; but it is significant that a great deal of this reconstruction is based on the careful examination of non-Venetian sources. Our particular debt here is to the Italian scholar Roberto Cessi.[8] In a nutshell, the early development of Venice appears to have been as follows: the city was *not* a Roman foundation (this is highly significant), and the islands of the lagoon were not substantially inhabited until the years immediately after the Lombard invasion of 568, when many of the population of the mainland towns of the Roman province of Venetia, places such as Altino and Oderzo, fled the invaders and settled on various islands in the archipelago. For the next 150 years or so the area was a typical, if rather poor and remote, component of the Byzantine territories of Italy, which also included Ravenna, Rome and Naples, governed by a Byzantine official, the *dux*. A significant event occurred in 727, when the province of Venetia (i.e. a ragbag collection of more or less equal islands, and not just the present Venice in the area of Rialto) revolted against the financial and perhaps the religious policies of the eastern emperor and elected their own *dux*, who was to become known as doge. This was not a unique event – it happened in most of the Byzantine areas of Italy – and in all of them a compromise was reached with the empire: the local duchies enjoyed a high degree of autonomy under their own dukes, who usually 'emerged' from powerful noble families, while retaining normal allegiance to the empire.[9] Unlike

[6] See Smith, *Ethnic Origins*, 59, on Carolingian and Merovingian dynastic myths, and ibid., 61, on the limits placed on the uniqueness of Italian city-states' mythical past by the influence of a united Roman legacy and a uniform Catholic culture.

[7] J. J. Norwich, *Venice. The Rise to Empire* (London, 1977), 57 – a work which is otherwise generally unreliable.

[8] R. Cessi, *Le origini del ducato veneziano* (Naples, 1951); Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, I. *Le origini* (Padua, 1928); Cessi, 'Venice to 1204', in *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 1 (new ed., Cambridge 1966) 250–74. Of the older works H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig*, 2 vols (Gotha, 1905, 1920), is still invaluable for its learning and detail. Cessi's picture has been revised and updated by A. Carile and G. Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia* (Bologna, 1978) and G. Ortalli, 'Venezia dalle origini a Pietro II Orseolo', in P. Delogu, A. Guillou and G. Ortalli (eds), *Longobardi e Bizantini* (Storia d'Italia UTET, I, Turin, 1980), 341–438. The historical account which follows is based on these works.

[9] T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, 554–800* (London, 1984), 93, 170.

most of the other areas, however, Venice managed to escape being conquered by the Lombards in the mid-eighth century and was able to develop its relative independence, along with its incipient naval and commercial strength, although this was constantly threatened by internal strife between rival families and rival islands.

By the ninth century Venice was beginning to become a more powerful trading power thanks to its role as *entrepôt* importing luxury items from the East to meet the needs of an increasingly prosperous Western Europe, and also thanks to cynical but lucrative relations with the Islamic world, especially the export of slaves from the Slav lands. But at the same time, the early ninth century was a period of serious threats for the developing chain of settlements. The political threat came from the Franks: Charlemagne and later his son Pepin, king of Italy, made a serious attempt to take over the area with the support of local pro-Frankish factions, but they were finally prevented from doing so partly by the strength of the pro-Byzantine faction and by timely Byzantine naval involvement in support of the dependency on its north-west frontier: as a result of this crisis the centre of government of the islands was finally fixed at Rialto in 810. Frankish pressure in the ecclesiastical sphere nonetheless continued, when the lagoon's patriarchal see, Grado, was stripped of its primacy in favour of Aquileia by the Synod of Mantua in 826. Within a couple of years, however, the Venetians had responded by removing the body of St Mark the Evangelist from Alexandria and building him a fine new shrine beside the ducal palace in Rialto – the church that became the first basilica of St Mark.[10]

In the century and a half after the successful overcoming of these threats the history of Venice is one of steady expansion in its political, naval and commercial might. Nearby rivals such as Ravenna and Comacchio were eliminated; Byzantium became increasingly reliant on the growing naval strength of its overmighty western 'subject' and rewarded it with trading privileges accordingly. Commercial links with the East and the retailing operations in the hinterland of mainland Italy became increasingly extensive and lucrative, and an overlordship over the coastal cities of Dalmatia was established. Compared with the upheavals of the eighth and early ninth centuries, Venice came to display some of the unity and stability which later became one of its hallmarks. Threats of attack from the Hungarian nomads and from the resurgent western empire of the Ottonians were successfully repulsed, the former by means of Venice's naval power and the latter through a mixture of diplomacy and invocation of Byzantine support, as in the Frankish crisis. By the early eleventh century Venice's *de facto* independence was established and its position as a great commercial and naval power was reflected

[10] In addition to the previously cited studies there is a useful survey of the position of Venice within the overall context of Byzantine relations with Italy in J. Ferluga, 'L'Italia bizantina dalla caduta dell'Esarcato di Ravenna alla metà del secolo IX' in *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, 34 (1988), 173–8.

in the generous privileges granted by both Byzantium and the western empire, the marriage alliance which the son of a doge made with a Byzantine princess (the sister of Romanos III), and the role of Otto III as godfather to a daughter of Doge Peter II Orseolo.[11]

It is convenient to break off from the history at this point because it is in the early eleventh century that we have our first detailed historical source from Venice. But one cannot help being confronted by two major problems which have preoccupied historians: first, how Byzantine was Venice in this early period, and second, why was Venice already such a success? The first question is in my view a non-problem. Some historians have been mesmerized by the number of Byzantine stylistic influences which are so obvious in the art, architecture, official titles and insignia, hagiography and so on of Venice in this period. They have concluded that Venice was a Byzantine city. Other historians have understandably found this difficult to reconcile with the increasing independence and ruthless self-interest which the Venetians show, and in particular with the conquest of the eastern empire in 1204. There is no need to postulate a sharp dichotomy between 'Byzantine' and 'anti-Byzantine' camps. Many states aped Byzantine styles in dress, ceremonial titles and art simply because they offered a benchmark of 'designer glitz' which could confer prestige on even the most *parvenu* rulers – one thinks of the western empire or the Norman kingdom of Sicily.[12] But it was particularly natural for Venice to copy these Byzantine traditions because it had started out as an imperial possession, had never formally ceased to be one, and was one of a number of ambivalent Italian cities which professed nominal allegiance to Byzantium for the benefits it brought while in practice pursuing totally self-interested policies.[13] The list includes such cities as Naples, Gaeta and Amalfi – all went through the same gradual evolution from province to autonomous city to *de facto* independent state, and Amalfi at least was still as important as Venice in the eleventh century.[14]

This of course raises the second question: why did Venice go from strength to successful strength, while other cities fell by the wayside? There are a number of reasons. Venice's physical isolation made it less exposed to attack, as well as encouraging a greater feeling of solidarity. People faced with a poor

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[11] K. Leyser, 'The Tenth Century in Byzantine–Western Relationships', in D. Baker (ed.), *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1973), 31–2.

[12] T. S. Brown, 'The Political Use of the Past in Norman Sicily', in Magdalino (ed.), *The Perception of the Past*, 205–6.

[13] A. Pertusi, '*Quedam regalia insignia*', *Studi Veneziani*, 7 (1965), 3–123 is particularly judicious on these borrowings.

[14] G. Cassando, 'Il ducato bizantino', *Storia di Napoli*, II, 1 (Cava dei Tirreni, 1969), 3–408; M. Merores, *Gaeta im frühen Mittelalter* (Gotha, 1911); U. Schwarz, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter (9.–11. Jahrhundert)* (Tübingen, 1978); cf. also the general study of V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale* (Bari, 1978) and von Falkenhausen and others in A. Guillou et al., *Il mezzogiorno dai Bizantini a Federico II* (Storia d'Italia UTET, I, Turin, 1983), 323–56.

and hostile environment had to engage in essentially cooperative activities such as fishing and commercial expeditions to survive, and this must have encouraged more of a corporate feeling. Particular conjunctions of factors at particular times helped Venice to survive. The city was fortunate in that two more or less equal powers took an interest in her, the eastern and western empires, and she was able to play one off against the other. There was also the fluke that the Normans happened to grow powerful in the south of Italy and so by the early twelfth century to extinguish the independence of Venice's rivals: Naples, Amalfi and Bari.

But there is one factor that deserves our attention because it probably played an important role in reinforcing Venice's cohesion and confidence, and that is the precocious establishment of a powerful origin myth. Its rivals do not appear to have had such success. Amalfi was, like Venice, an upstart, effectively founded as a refugee centre in the sixth century, but it does not appear to have been able to create for itself an inspiring version of its foundation and early history. Naples was certainly aware of its Greek origins in pre-Roman times, but seems to have been unable to reconcile this with its contemporary claims to greatness and independence.[15]

What then was the Venetian 'myth'? It has to be said that it seems to start out as a miscellaneous ragbag of elements rather than a coherent and developed justification of Venice's later development. But certain elements seem to appear early, such as the legend of St Mark's preaching activity in Roman Venetia, including the lagoon, and a heroic vision of Roman refugees from either the Huns or the Lombards establishing a kind of 'new society' on the islands based on sturdy individualism. These seem to have been developed in response to particular crises, in order to reinforce morale and justify the area's claims to independence – the crises of the Frankish invasion and the attack on Grado's primacy previously mentioned. We do not have precisely dateable texts for this period, but we do have them from a century or so later; the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus' work on diplomatic relations with the empire's neighbours, the *De Administrando Imperio*, gives an account of the foundation of Venice, which must have been obtained from a Venetian and which describes the event as a response to the invasion of Attila the Hun in 452. Constantine also gives a slightly lyrical description of the individual islands which is similar to that found in the Venetian chronicles of the eleventh century.[16] Also from the tenth century comes a *Translatio S. Marci* which suggests that the cult of the saint was established in the area long before the transfer of his bones in 828.[17] There are, in addition, odd texts incorporated

[15] N. Cilento, 'La storiografia dell' Italia meridionale', *Settimana di Studio*, 17/2 (1970), 521–56.

[16] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, c.27, ed. Gy. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967), 75–96; V. von Falkenhausen, 'Italy in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth Century', in *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his Age* (Athens 1989), 25–38.

[17] *AASS* 3, 25 April, 353ff.

in later sources which are clearly early, such as the catalogues of the bishops of various lagoon sees: Grado, Torcello and Olivolo.[18] None of this activity is very surprising; in many cities of early medieval Italy, both Lombard and Roman, there is an evident antiquarian interest in the past history of the cities, sometimes concentrating on Roman glories and sometimes on the activities of the place's patron saint. Thus we have eighth-century eulogies of Milan and Verona, ninth-century episcopal histories from Ravenna and Naples which are in part urban histories, and poems surviving from Modena commemorating the greatness of the city, its saint and its bishops.[19]

It is extremely difficult to 'excavate' the layers of these traditions precisely. However we can say that by the eleventh century there was a precocious emergence of complex historical texts which appear to have been in large part based on already developed traditions. These texts fall into two categories: what I shall call the 'official political' and the 'antiquarian/ ecclesiastical'. The first category is reflected in one work, the *Chronicon Venetum*, written around 1018.[20] This is anonymous in the surviving manuscripts but is customarily assigned to one John the Deacon, mainly because John himself figures prominently in the later part of it. John was very much an insider: he was a cleric in the bureaucratic service of the doges of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries and performed important diplomatic missions, such as arranging the remarkable state visit of Otto III to Venice in 1001. On one level John's chronicle is astonishingly ramshackle. For the earliest part he is almost totally dependent on two sources, Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* and Bede's *World Chronicle*. Later he inserts material such as episcopal catalogues without any real attempt at integrating them into a literary whole. Nevertheless his work is a conscientious attempt to reconstruct Venice's early history, which is both chronologically continuous and conceptually unitary. John appears to have tried to be scientific by rejecting legendary traditions which were already in existence, such as the association of the city's foundation with the notorious scourge of God, Attila the Hun; he rightly dates it to the Lombard invasions. To gloss over Venice's lack of a Roman past he introduces the notion of two Venices, the first a Roman one on the mainland, and the second derived from it which then developed into *Venetia Aurea*. There is little on St Mark's supposed mission to Venetia, or even on the translation of his relics, although John

[18] E.g. *Origo civitatum Italiae seu venetiarum (Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense)*, (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 72, Rome, 1933), 36–45.

[19] J.K. Hyde, 'Medieval Descriptions of Cities', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 48 (1966); 311–13, T.S. Brown, '*Romanitas* and *Campanilismo*: Agnellus of Ravenna's View of the Past', in C. Holdsworth and T. Wiseman (eds), *The Inheritance of Historiography 350–900* (Exeter, 1986), 107–14. The early urban sources are also discussed in several of the papers in *La coscienza cittadina nei comuni italiani del duecento* (Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità medievale 11, Todi, 1972), especially G. Fasoli, 'La coscienza civica nelle "*laudes civitatum*"', 11–44.

[20] *Cronaca veneziana*, ed. G. Monticolo, *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, I (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 9, Rome, 1890), 57–171.

clearly knew the earliest version of the *Translatio*. John represents a very down-to-earth treatment of the past, with emphasis on essentially political values. For example, he displays a calculated ignorance of Byzantine affairs and of Venice's nominal allegiance to the empire. The doges' imperial titles and the occasional presence of a Byzantine diplomat are mentioned in a kind of limbo and never explained. Only occasionally does he embellish the past, as when Pepin's climb-down in 810 is portrayed as the result of a fictitious Venetian victory rather than the actual confrontation with Byzantium.[21]

John does not wholly neglect the ecclesiastical dimension, but when, for example, he deals with earlier church synods they are described in a way which serves to advance the city's contemporary ecclesiastical policy, that is, to promote the claims of the local see of Grado to primacy over all of Venetia and Istria. The emphasis is always on political events, usually portrayed in a narrowly personal light of good versus evil characters, but in a manner which exalts individuals into types of political and ethical virtue or vice; his hero, for example, Peter II Orseolo, is portrayed as the ideal doge. Collective unity and achievements are stressed, whether it is the foundation of churches and public buildings or collective decisions such as the election of the first doge and the resolution to move the capital to Rialto. Also one crucial, but flawed, element of John's reconstruction became a cornerstone of Venetian historiography: he portrayed Venice as being ruled for 150 years by an oligarchy of tribunes, who then decided in c. 715 to elect their first doge. The then Byzantine province had always had its own non-elected duke, the first elected doge assumed office in the revolt of 727, and John got the name of the first doge wrong: he supposed it was Paulicius on the basis of his misinterpretation of a treaty made by one Paul, who was an imperial governor, the exarch of Ravenna.[22] For all his weaknesses, however, John established a historiographical tradition which became the norm in later Venice: he began the process of idealizing the community of Venice, with the set-piece description of key 'heroic' events, the personalization of government in the form of 'good' or 'bad' doges, and his model of the emergence of the system of ducal election.

Also growing up in the eleventh century is a tradition more purely ecclesiastical and antiquarian in its interests, and also with a more rococo treatment of the past. The first example of this is the *Chronica de Singulis Patriarchis Novae Aquiliae* which is an account of the rivalry of the sees of Aquileia and Grado in the late sixth and seventh centuries, intended to advance the claims of Grado

[21] Useful discussions of John's work include G. Fasoli, 'I fondamenti della storiografia veneziana', in A. Pertusi (ed.), *Aspetti della storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI* (Civiltà veneziana, saggi, 18, Florence, 1970), 11–44, especially 12–15, 28–32; A. Carile, 'La coscienza civica di Venezia nella sua prima storiografia', in *La coscienza cittadina*, 97–136; Carile, 'Le origini di Venezia nella tradizione storiografica', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, I, 135–66; and G. Arnaldi and L. Capo, 'I cronisti di Venezia e della Marca Trevigiana dalle origini alla fine del secolo XIII', ibid., 387–423.

[22] *Cronaca veneziana*, ed. Monticolo, 91. Cf. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 9–10; T.S. Brown, A.A.M. Bryer and D. Winfield, 'Cities of Heraclius', *BMGS*, 4 (1978), 31 and references there cited. Later chronicles changed the date of the first doge to 697.

to primacy over its rival. Since Pope Leo IX adjudged in favour of Grado, it is usually considered to be a piece of propaganda from his period, 1049–53.[23] It reflects how strong the notion of ecclesiastical as well as political independence was in Venice at that time, and it relies extensively on forgeries of the ninth century. More wide-ranging, but also much more difficult to interpret, are two related chronicles, the *Chronicon Gradense* and the *Chronicon Altinate*.[24] The dating and nature of these are quite astonishingly complicated, but to cut a long story short most authorities accept Cessi's view that the Grado chronicle is a fragment of the Altino one, and that the latter survives in three versions. Cessi was probably right in seeing the text develop gradually over the period 1081–1204 from heterogeneous elements, but his renaming of it as the *Origo Civitatum Italiae* has received less general acceptance.[25] The work is infuriatingly confused (Gina Fasoli called the *Chronicon Altinate* the most exasperating text medievalists will ever have to deal with);[26] it is, however, very revealing in that its mosaic elements show that there was a variety of traditions from a number of local communities and families in the Venetian area and also that there was a great deal of historiographical experimentation going on.[27]

Like John the Deacon the Altino chronicle includes lists of churches and relics and a number of earlier catalogues (imperial as well as episcopal); but unlike John the Deacon its compilers were preoccupied, indeed besotted, with the problem of origins. Thus for the first time the myth of the Trojan origin of the Venetians appears, this being 'proved' by the derivation of *Venetici* from Aeneas![28] As a result the establishment of Castello, the oldest settlement on the lagoon, is dated to 454 years before the foundation of Rome. The first version goes on to give a legendary account of the foundation of Torcello by a number of tribunician families from the mainland.[29] The second and third versions offer a very elaborate account of Venice's supposed foundation at the time of Attila in the fifth century. Through God's will the Christian Venetians escape persecution by sailing in canoes to the desolate islands of the lagoon and build the *secunda Venetia* among their humble dwellings. This migration marks a complete caesura since Aquileia is wrongly described as having been totally destroyed by Attila.[30] To some extent the sources for this can be identified – they include the early hagiographic traditions about St Mark, a poem written

[23] Edited by G. Monticolo in *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, 5–16. Cf. Carile, 'Le origini di Venezia', 146–7 and Fasoli, 'I fondamenti', 13.

[24] Cessi, ed., *Origo civitatum Italiae seu venetiarum*.

[25] R. Cessi, 'Studi sulla composizione del "*Chronicon Altinate*"', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano*, 49 (1933), 40ff. Cf. Fasoli, 'I fondamenti', 12–13; Carile, 'Le origini di Venezia', 147–53; Carile and Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia*, 44–5; Arnaldi and Lago, 'I cronisti', 394–5.

[26] Fasoli, 'I fondamenti', 33.

[27] Cf. Carile, 'La coscienza civica', 122.

[28] *Origo*, 7, 23–6.

[29] *Origo*, 30–32. On all this see Carile, 'Le origini di Venezia', 147.

[30] *Origo*, 50, 60–61, 154.

on the mainland around 800 about the Huns' destruction of Aquileia, and a number of irrelevant legends from other cities dealing with quite separate attacks by the Goth Totila and the Magyars.[31] It can be argued, fairly convincingly, that the Attila myth grew up to foster solidarity against the Frankish threat of the early ninth century and then was developed further in the light of the Magyar danger at the beginning of the tenth.

The reconstruction of the early history of the second Venice is recounted in an interesting way: the Venetians expound their history themselves to a Byzantine official, the prefect Longinus, who had come to investigate the charges of abuses made against the previous governor Narses; Narses himself is recorded as having asked for Venetian help in his war against the Goths and as having sought refuge among the Venetians after falling into disgrace. Longinus then asks the Venetians for help in the name of the emperor in return for a kind of maritime lordship and extensive trading privileges in the East.[32] On one level all this is a farrago of nonsense, but Narses and Longinus *were* historical figures and the compiler was familiar with a well-established 'populist' tradition that an offended Narses had invited the Lombards into Italy. What is striking is the compiler's attempt to rewrite history in order to emphasize the early independence of the Venetians and to explain the close relationship between the city and the Byzantine Empire as an agreement made between equals.

These baroque legends were eagerly taken up by later chronicles such as Martin de Canal (ca. 1267–75)[33] and Marco (around 1300).[34] Stress was laid on the Trojan origins (from which the Venetians were seen as deriving seniority and liberty), the preaching of St Mark in Venetia with his prophecies of the future greatness of the lagoon area (seen as legitimating the claims of Grado and other local sees to independence), and the invasion of Attila (seen as marking the new beginning of a prosperous and independent 'Second Venice'). Significantly these chroniclers, for all their debt to the Altino chronicle, are closer to John the Deacon in emphasizing the wealth, beauty and glory of the new settlements from the beginning. References to aristocratic families are also greatly developed, with their original homes on the mainland and their supposedly inherent qualities of virtue or vice. These chronicles and other anonymous ones of the twelfth century lay great stress on the Trojan antiquity of Venice, partly because such origin stories were becoming a standard feature

[31] Carile, 'Le origini di Venezia' 148–50; Carile and Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia*, 61–2.

[32] *Origo*, 51ff., 74–8. Cf. Fasoli, 'I fondamenti', 35–6.

[33] *Les Estoires de Venise. Cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, ed. A. Limentani (Civiltà Veneziana, Fonti e Testi, 12, serie 3a, Florence, 1972).

[34] 'Estratti dall' opera MS. in lingua latina del cronista Marco', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 8 (1845), 259–67; E. Paladin, 'Osservazioni sulla inedita cronaca veneziana di Marco (sec. XIII ex. – XIV. in)', *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, Classe di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti*, 127 (1969–70), 429–61.

of the new genre of Italian urban chronicles and probably to outdo neighbouring Padua, which claimed foundation by the Trojan Antenor.[35]

Perhaps the most excessive development of the Venetian myth occurs, however, in a Franco-Venetian *Life of Attila* written as a kind of courtly romance around 1300.[36] St Mark is portrayed as having a vision at the Rialto of the threat of pagan attacks by 'Cumans, Vlachs, Hungarians and Bulgars'. The Hungarians duly appear in the terrible form of Attila, the offspring of a union with a wild beast. Attila kills Menapius, king of Aquileia, in a duel and ravages his lands. Continued resistance is however led by Gilius, king of Padua, who comes across Attila dressed as pilgrim, challenges him to a game of chess and then kills him. The duke of Ravenna seeks help from the emperor of Constantinople, whose son Eradius defeats Attila's son and successor, Pandeucus, and puts the Hungarians to flight. Meanwhile Gilius' son Candianus has become king of the refugees on the Rialto and his wife has founded the Church of the Angel Raphael on the Dorsoduro. There is a clear connection here with the Sanudo family, who claimed descent from the Candiani.[37]

The mainstream historical tradition remained slightly more down-to-earth. Elements from both John the Deacon's chronicle and the Altino traditions, such as the local ministry of St Mark, were taken over in the often confused and fantastic anonymous chronicles, and a precise date and time were given for the foundation of Venice: Friday 25 March 421 A.D. at noon.[38] On a more official level the fourteenth-century chronicle of Andrea Dandolo came to exercise a dominant authority.[39] Dandolo did not insist on the Trojan foundation, emphasizing instead the religious foundation of the city following the visions of St Mark. The first wave of settlers came with Attila's raid, but denser settlement followed the Lombard invasions. Dandolo's approach is sensible, gradualist and consciously historical, squarely in the 'official' tradition of John the Deacon. As in John's chronicle, heroic events, the exemplary character of individuals, and the collective unity of the community are stressed, and John's model of tribunician oligarchy followed by elected dogeship is adhered to.[40]

It appears therefore that Venice was precocious in developing these two types of historiographical tradition at a comparatively early stage and that they were

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[35] A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII– XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204* (Civiltà Veneziana, Studi, 25, Florence, 1969); Carile, 'Aspetti della chronachistica veneziana nei secoli XIII e XIV', in Pertusi (ed.), *Aspetti della storiografia*, 75–146; Carile, 'Le origini di Venezia,' 150–52.

[36] The oldest surviving version is in Cod. Marc. Lat. X, 96 (3530). It was used as a source by the Bolognese poet Nicola da Casola later in the fourteenth century: G. Bertoni and C. Foligno, 'La "Guerra d'Attila", poema franco–italiano di Nicola da Casola', *Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, serie 2a, 56 (1906), 77–158.

[37] Cf. Carile, 'Le origini di Venezia', 153–7.

[38] Carile, 159; R. Cessi, *Documenti relativi alla storia di venezia anteriore al mille*, I (Padua, 1942), 1–2.

[39] *Chronicon venetum*, ed. E. Pastorello (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, N.S., XII, 1, Bologna, 1938).

[40] Carile, 'Le origini di Venezia', 161–5.

of great benefit in fostering the Venetians' morale and unity, their 'civic consciousness'. But can it be explained why these myths were so full, developed and apparently widely accepted in Venice, compared with other cities? It is not sufficient to argue that Venice's actual political development was unique, because it was not. This is obviously a complex issue, but perhaps one important factor can be singled out.

It is clear that the compilers of these works, at least before about 1200, were churchmen. Hence their mixture of purely ecclesiastical concerns (claims to primacy etc.) and more general matters of political history and civic pride. Throughout the early middle ages in Italy the secular clergy were mostly members of the local lay élite, and became the intellectual custodians or 'media spokesmen' for the values of that urban aristocracy. This is particularly true in early Venice, where there are numerous cases of the sons and brothers of doges holding bishoprics. Of course some clerics were directly involved in secular administration – John the Deacon is a very good example of this – while others took more of an antiquarian interest in the history and rights of their sees; but both kinds were very committed to their urban communities and their past. In the ninth and tenth centuries Venice was not alone in having this kind of civic pride, centred on the building up of myths and legends: one can trace it in Rome, Ravenna and Naples and even in Lombard cities such as Milan and Verona. A particularly telling parallel is Pisa, like Venice a maritime city but unlike Venice not Byzantine in origin, where the cathedral clergy were responsible for an impressive corpus of poems and other quasi-historical literature in the eleventh and twelfth centuries glorifying the city's early naval successes and achievement of political autonomy.[41] This level of unifying cultural and historical activity by a clerical mandarinate of intellectuals closely involved in secular life is one of the factors which distinguishes urban life in Italy from elsewhere and helps it to flourish. But in most other cities this clerical tradition of urban exaltation withers away, for different reasons. Sometimes the city declines abruptly (as in the case of Ravenna), but more often a gap is opened up between the lay aristocracy and the higher clergy after 962, when the German emperors move in, interfere with the traditional patterns of clerical recruitment and promotion, and appoint their own reliable servants, who are usually outsiders and often Germans. At the same time the cosy and worldly relationship between clergy and secular élites comes under attack from church reformers.

The net result is that the clerical historiographical tradition of glorifying the city as a whole (in both ecclesiastical and political terms) is interrupted in most cities by the eleventh century. New political structures come into place by the twelfth century: what we know as the communes or independent city-states.

[41] C.B. Fisher, 'The Pisan Clergy and an Awakening of Historical Interest in a Medieval Commune', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 3 (1966), 143–219; Wickham, 'The sense of the past', 177–80 and references there cited.

These had to start almost from nothing, with their urban chronicles and origin myths produced in a new, secular circle associated with the notaries.[42] This did not happen in Venice, because there was greater political continuity, no German takeover of clerical appointments, and the papacy was reluctant to impose reform because it needed Venice – and Grado – as allies. At the same time the traditional close relationship of the clergy with the secular élite and the ducal administration continued with little change. Ecclesiastical and political life remained much more integrated in Venice than elsewhere, and clerics had a more profound sense of history because of their long-running dispute with the mainland see of Aquileia and also because of the intermittent rivalries between the various sees of the lagoon itself, Grado, Torcello and Olivolo. It all made for good, albeit imaginative history, and so for a stronger Venice galvanized by a series of potent myths.

The potency of these myths promoting Venice as an innately free and divinely favoured city clearly contributed greatly to the remarkable solidarity and self-confidence of the republic. Such was their potency that they continued to circulate and exert influence into the supposedly more critical world of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Thus Napoleon had clearly been made familiar with that endearing text *The Life of Attila*: when he abolished the Venetian Republic in 1797 he declared, 'Je serai un Attila pour l'état de Venise'.[43]

[42] I intend to develop these themes in a forthcoming publication.

[43] Cited in A. Fugier, *Napoléon et l'Italie: la Roue de la Fortune* (Dijon, 1947), 68.

10

Patristic methodology in late Byzantium

Andrew J. Sopko

In the Birkbeck Lectures which D.M. Nicol delivered at the University of Cambridge in 1977, he described 'that special if elusive quality which may be described as Byzantinism'. According to Professor Nicol, in Byzantium 'their saints were trained by vigilance and ascesis to reach the higher calling of monasticism. Likewise, their scholars were the perfected products of an exclusive club in which rules were determined by cultured manners and sophisticated language, *by the initiation into a style*'.[1] While Professor Nicol here had in mind those scholars labouring to recreate classical Greek in medieval Byzantium, could the use of the writings of the Fathers of the Church in the Palaiologan period likewise be considered a 'style' of theology which was symptomatic of Byzantinism? It might immediately be considered dangerous to use a term like 'patristic methodology' in the Byzantine context, especially since 'patristics' and 'methodology' cannot possibly have the same systematized definitions in a culture dependent on manuscripts as they would in a print-oriented culture. Nonetheless, the *experience* of the Fathers of the Church had led to the creation of a certain body of texts and, as these texts became part of the tradition of the Byzantine Church, certain attitudes or methods evolved in using them, especially as a guarantee of that Church's adherence to true Christianity.

The style of theology which evolved in late Byzantine patristic methodology certainly had rules, albeit unwritten ones. From the three conciliar watersheds which will be examined here, the local Constantinopolitan councils of 1285 and 1351 and the union council held in Ferrara–Florence in 1438–9, three prevailing attitudes seemed to dominate Palaiologan patristic methodology:

1. A patristic fundamentalism which emphasized 'prooftexts' culled from the writings of the Fathers.
2. A belief in the absolute agreement of these prooftexts.
3. An insistence on a crystallized patristic vocabulary rooted in past usage and disallowing any new terminology in theological exposition.

[1] D.M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979), 61 (my emphasis).

The defensive rather than creative nature which can be sensed in these attitudes certainly could be blamed on the ever-increasing polemic with the Church of Rome, especially over the *filioque*, but there were other factors responsible for the condition which Palaiologan patristic methodology found itself in and these stretched back for centuries.

'Proofs' from the Fathers had followed close on the heels of proofs from Scripture in the theological controversies of the early Church. The Council of Ephesus in 431, no doubt through the influence of Cyril of Alexandria, assented to the legitimacy of proofs from patristic texts.[2] After the Council of Chalcedon in 451, however, when Byzantine theology became increasingly limited to a Greek-speaking world, the experience of non-Greek traditions and their respective Fathers was very rarely considered. Furthermore, in conciliar circumstances, there occurred a growing dependence on Greek patristic testimony as codified in various florilegia.[3] This attention to textual extracts reached such proportions by the Sixth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 680–81 that it has been termed 'a council of antiquarians and paleographers'.[4] Even so, such attitudes did not stifle the creativity of these councils. The reformulation of the Cyrillian formula for the sake of the 'Monophysites' at the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553, the proclamation of the two wills in Christ at the Sixth Council, in 680–81, and the distinction between 'worship' and 'honour' at the Seventh Council in 787 underline this fact. But there was a problem inherent in the dependence on florilegia: not only was it often difficult to track down a complete text; it was even more of a task to find other copies which could be compared to assure accuracy and veracity.

The many problems attached to manuscript production and preservation of complete texts of the writings of the Church Fathers obviously contributed to the popularity of the florilegium at Byzantium but it also produced an unhealthy by-product, a largely uncritical attitude towards received patristic texts, particularly those extracts found in the florilegia. Photios obviously had access to a number of complete texts by the Greek Fathers and even went so far as to criticize some of their ideas or the reputed authorship of some of the writings.[5] He also spoke, at least rhetorically, against the need for patristic verification of the error of the *filioque* in his encyclical of 866.[6] In other words, there was no need for a prooftext when the experience of the Church was so evident. Otherwise, the middle Byzantine period generally presents a deterioration

[2] J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Westminster, Maryland, 1984), v. 3, 135–6.

[3] Cf. G. Jouassard, 'De quelques conséquences et particularités qu'a entraînées en patristique grecque l'adoption du genre florilège pour traiter l'argument de tradition', *Analecta Gregoriana* 68 (Rome, 1954), 17–25.

[4] Cf. C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, AD 750–850', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, 1975), (= id. *Byzantium and its Image*, [London, 1984], VII), 30.

[5] Cf. N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 110–11, 116.

[6] *PG* 102.728–9. This should not be misconstrued to mean that Photios did not indulge in prooftexting on other occasions, as in the *Mystagogia*.

towards a patristic fundamentalism which focused on the theology of the text and, more specifically, the polemical prooftext rather than the living experience of the Church.[7]

At the end of the eleventh and into the twelfth century, the patristic extracts of the traditional florilegium were transposed into a new medium, the compendium which refuted the heresies of the Roman and Armenian Churches. Zigabenos' *Panoply*, Kamateros' *Armoury* and Choniates' *Treasury of Orthodoxy* all present veritable arsenals of patristic prooftexts against un-Byzantine theological error.[8] Once again, these compendia consisted of selected prooftexts divorced from the complete texts of their patristic authors but now flavoured by the growing distance the Byzantines were sensing between themselves and their Christian brothers. Nor were these compendia the only result of renewed contacts with the Roman and Armenian Churches; all the local Constantinopolitan councils in the twelfth century occurred as a result of the viewpoints expressed by individuals involved in the examination of Latin and Armenian theology. But rather than deal with the problems raised in a creative fashion, these councils opted for conciliar decisions drawn word for word from patristic prooftexts.[9]

Access to patristic texts could only have become more difficult after the Fourth Crusade. The sacking and scattering of libraries 'put an end to the survival of a quantity of literature which is difficult to estimate'.[10] With the re-establishment of Byzantine power in Constantinople in 1261, the re-establishment of several libraries also occurred but resources proved so limited that these could never attain their former stature. Accompanying the building of libraries, there developed a renewed interest in philology and textual criticism but these concerns seem largely related to classical texts. We have evidence of churchmen doing research on classical texts but no comparable evidence for such research on Greek patristic texts. Perhaps the fact that such texts were not to be found in abundance, which the proceedings of some ecclesiastical councils in the Palaiologan period tend to confirm, or that they were deemed too sacrosanct for such inspection, explains this paradox.

The Latin occupation of Constantinople had obviously added a new emotional dimension to the ever-increasing battle of words between the Roman and Byzantine Churches over the *filioque*.[11] Michael VIII's politically-motivated

[7] Symeon the New Theologian was an obvious exception to this trend in the tenth and eleventh centuries but his treatment by ecclesiastical authorities shows him to be the odd man out.

[8] For more on these compendia, cf. *The Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1967) IV.2, 219.

[9] For the most recent account of several of these councils, see G. Thetford, 'The Christological Councils of 1166 and 1170 in Constantinople', *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 31.2 (1987), 143–61. It is particularly difficult to share the author's enthusiasm for the Synodikon of the Council of 1170, based on a synthesis of quotations from John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa* which is already a synthetic work.

[10] N.G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, 218. Wilson here refers to classical texts but the same could be said for the survival of patristic texts in large quantities.

[11] Cf. the remarks of D.M. Nicol, *Church and Society*, 34.

attempt at union with the Roman Church through acceptance of the *filioque* sent both unionists and anti-unionists rushing to patristic passages for their respective prooftexts. This style of theology had certainly not been forgotten at Byzantium and for well over a decade, from the unsuccessful Union of Lyons in 1274, until the convocation of the Council of 1285, an almost schizophrenic attitude developed as to how patristic prooftexts were to be used.[12] The perennial problem of differing texts was now superseded by differing interpretations of the same text. Some might read a passage and conclude that it favoured the *filioque* while others might read it and decide that the text very definitely demonstrated the *filioque*'s impropriety.

Almost the entire debate at the Council of 1285 swirled around a single passage from John of Damascus dealing with the procession of the Holy Spirit, and referring to God the Father as the 'projector of the revealing Spirit through the Word'. Paradoxically, both the former unionist patriarch John Bekkos and his opponents depended on the quotation as it had been recorded in Kamateros' *Armoury*.[13] Both parties used a passage which had been isolated from its original context and placed in a collection of prooftexts. It does not appear that the council searched for or consulted any other manuscripts for the complete text. In order to disavow the passage as a support for the *filioque*, it was even suggested that the passage might be spurious and not found in the works of John of Damascus, but this view was rejected since 'the Armoury was nearby and testified to the remark'![14] Bekkos' opponents were flabbergasted that he could read the passage as a support for the *filioque* when so many other texts from the Greek Fathers 'proved' otherwise. Of course, Bekkos' opponents really based their own position on what could be considered textual half-truths since they consulted only a collection of prooftexts. Similarly, the former patriarch himself was just as guilty of the accusation of inattention to patristic dogma which he hurled at his opponents.[15]

The creation of and dependence on collections of patristic prooftexts to combat heresies resulted in another attitude to which the Council of 1285 clearly testified, namely the belief in an absolute agreement in the theological content of these prooftexts. Obviously, the selection of certain texts which shared a common approach to a particular problem was meant to convey a *consensus patrum* but how far could such a conception of consensus be carried? Any close examination of the texts of the Greek Fathers will reveal differences of opinion. For all the creative theological erudition which patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus would display at the conclusion of the council, it is a bit surprising to hear him

[12] An extraordinary scene at the Council of 1283 illustrates this. Many of the participants in that council threw their own theological compositions into a fire, not because they were heretical but because they 'contained quotations from the Fathers which the unionists might use'. See G. Pachymeres, *Historia* (*CSHB*) II, 26–27.

[13] Pachymeres, *Historia* (*CSHB*) II, 92. The text is from *De fide orthodoxa*, *PG* 94.808B.

[14] Pachymeres, *Historia* (*CSHB*) II, 108–9.

[15] Pachymeres, *Historia* (*CSHB*) II, 100.

announce that 'the sayings of the Holy Fathers are inter-related and in full agreement with one another'.[16] Although the patriarch does not clarify whether this is a 'blanket' statement covering all the writings of the Greek Fathers, it certainly sounds like one. Otherwise, how could so much commotion ensue at the council over *one* differing interpretation of *one* passage from *one* Father?

The problem which was handed to Gregory of Cyprus at the council was to provide an acceptable interpretation of the quotation from John of Damascus, that is, one which did not lend support to the *filioque* and was in keeping with the patristic textual tradition. Gregory's invention of the term 'eternal manifestation' to describe the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Son as presented in the passage from John of Damascus created even more turmoil than Bekkos' interpretation. This new uproar, while partially caused by the inability of many ecclesiastics to even understand what the term meant, occurred principally because such terminology could not be found in past patristic usage.[17] The cultivation of a prooftext theology had evidently also instilled in the minds of many the desire for a crystallized theological vocabulary which employed words found only in past patristic usage, disallowing any new terminology.[18] In the end, the patriarch had to resign amidst the controversy but his interpretation remained unchallenged, not so much because of its orthodoxy but for fear of more unrest.

Throughout the Palamite controversies of the mid-fourteenth century, some of the same problems of methodology were in evidence. In the discussions between Barlaam and Palamas, John Meyendorff has observed that 'two forms of conservatism came into conflict; the formal conservatism which consisted in verbal repetition of the formulas of the Fathers and the truly traditional spirit which wished to share the living experience of the Fathers, always accessible in the catholic life of the Church and not only (in) the words they spoke'.[19] Be that as it may, Palamas found himself on the defensive about what he had put down in writing, even after several councils in 1341 had vindicated his theology. While he might have been attempting to convey the living experience of the Fathers, the general feeling was that that experience could be conveyed only within the limits of a crystallized patristic vocabulary. In his re-presentation of the energy/essence distinction found in past patristic literature, Palamas actually had not even gone as far as Gregory of Cyprus in creating new concepts to convey theological truths but was still surrounded by suspicion.

The Constantinopolitan council of 1351, held in the very same place as that of 1285, confirmed the doctrine of Palamas yet again but also offers some

[16] Pachymeres, *Historia* (*CSHB*) II, 93.

[17] Pachymeres, *Historia* (*CSHB*) II, 113–14, 117–20. In some ways, the term serves more as a method of rapprochement with the *filioque* than a disavowal of it.

[18] For a brief explanation of the semantic problems arising from Gregory's concept, cf. A.J. Sopko, 'Palamism Before Palamas and the Theology of Gregory of Cyprus', *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 23, 3/4 (1979), 145–6.

[19] J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (Crestwood, New York, 1964), 56–7.

evidence concerning the expectations of the theological *status quo* in Byzantium. As always, pertinent quotations from the Fathers were read although Gregoras, who was responsible for charging Palamas with theological impropriety, does not state in his account from which collections these texts were taken.[20] To these were added the acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council since Palamas claimed that his own theology was a 'development' of that council.[21] While it is not so important to state here that Nikephoros Gregoras objected, for the wrong reasons, to Palamas's terminology, it is interesting to note how defensive Palamas had to become at the council concerning his choice of words. He had to apologize that the terminology he had chosen in his polemical works was less exact than that in his Confession of Faith. In order that the record be set straight, that Confession was read aloud at the council but not even then was Palamas totally safe. Only after a theological commission had examined his terminology following the council was he judged innocent.[22] Once again, the enforcement of a crystallized patristic vocabulary proves to be the rule for theological composition at late Byzantium. Although Palamas's theology rose above that of the prooftext, his terminology generally remained bound to what was officially approved.

Although the *filioque* did not loom large in the Palamite controversies, probably since Barlaam took a rather agnostic attitude towards the entire problem, it came into its own again with the convocation of the union council at Ferrara and Florence in 1438–9, stretching the patristic prooftext methodology of the Byzantines to the breaking point. Whether or not they received fair treatment at the hands of their Western hosts or whether they were their own worst enemies cannot be determined here. The almost immediate rejection of the council in Byzantium branded it with an infamy which it largely retains to this day in the eyes of members of the Orthodox Church. Armed only with some manuscripts of Greek patristic texts, the Byzantine delegation could never really have been prepared for what they had to face. The patristic fundamentalism which had become ever more prevalent in the Byzantine Church, especially as a defence against Latin polemic over the past centuries, now had to face several 'unknowns'. First, even that which could be conceived by the Byzantines as the most traditional aspect of Western theology, the teachings of the Latin Church Fathers, was *terra incognita* to them. Second, the prooftext methodology which had come to dominate Byzantine theology had no comparable place in Latin medieval scholasticism, which was a totally new theological style as far as the Byzantines were concerned.

Because of the patristic prooftext methodology which came to dominate the proceedings through Byzantine insistence, one of the most pressing problems

[20] N. Gregoras, *Historia* (*CSHB*) II, 1015–36.

[21] Gregoras, *Historia* (*CSHB*) II, 898.

[22] Gregoras, *Historia* (*CSHB*) II, 988–90; G. Palamas, *Tomus*, *PG* 141.723, 759–66; J. Meyendorff, *Palamas*, 95–9.

which the council had to face was the scarcity of trustworthy manuscripts. Mark of Ephesus may have spoken of the existence of a thousand copies of the works of Basil the Great in Constantinople but they were not particularly easy for the council to come by.[23] It was certainly not unusual for both sides to accuse each other of the falsification of patristic texts when certain passages in their respective manuscripts did not match.[24] The style of argument which generally prevailed in the public sessions proceeded from the recitation of patristic passages. Mark of Ephesus, the spokesman for the Byzantines, generally presented patristic proofs followed up by some personal comments; John of Montenero, the spokesman for the Latins, while also presenting patristic texts, would go on to argue forcefully towards conclusions which he felt could be drawn from the quotations.[25] In other words, while Mark generally held to the absolute irrefutability of the passages he read, seeing no need to expound upon them, John took nothing for granted and used all the methods of logic to bring home the Latin position. When the Byzantines complained about such a methodology, John demonstrated that he knew how to fight fire with fire by spending hours quoting a multitude of texts in support of the *filioque*, first from the Latin Fathers and then from the Greek, adding not a word of argument. Even the Byzantines must have found such a presentation wearisome.

As is well known, Mark never signed the decree of union and was later hailed as a champion of Orthodoxy. From the very beginning of the council, however, he seemed more a proponent of textual purity than doctrinal integrity. For instance, in early discussions, Mark immediately insisted that the Nicene–Constantinopolitan Creed be treated as an inviolable text rather than the Symbol of Faith. By appealing to Cyril of Alexandria's remarks on the Council of Ephesus' prohibition against creating 'another faith', he would not allow for any addition to the Creed. Even if the *filioque* were true, the Creed already stood as a crystallized prooftext and a word could never be added.[26] Mark's intransigence towards the Latin viewpoint later evolved into a very ethnocentric attitude. He refused to accept the words of the Latin Fathers supporting the *filioque* for, according to him, 'they have never been translated into our tongue'.[27] Again and again, Mark insisted that the Latin texts were forgeries. Tired of such remarks, Bessarion felt obliged to tell him that the texts themselves occurred so often in manuscripts that to exclude them would leave the Latins with nothing but blank pages.[28]

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[23] J. Gill (ed.), *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini* (Rome, 1953), 386.

[24] Cf. the differences between two texts used at the council of Book III of Basil's *Adversus Eunomium* in J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959), 199.

[25] Gill, *Council*, 195–223.

[26] Gill, *Council*, 147.

[27] Mark of Ephesus, *Confessio Fidei* in L. Petit (ed.), *Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence*, *PO* 17, 438.

[28] Gill, *Quae supersunt*, 401.

It is fascinating to read how those who would become the proponents of union, especially Bessarion and Isidore, were as unmoved as Mark by the Latin method of argumentation. But unlike Mark, the quotations from the Latin Fathers in support of the *filioque* impressed them. According to Bessarion, 'the words [of the Fathers] by themselves alone were enough to solve every doubt and to persuade every soul. It was not syllogisms or probabilities or arguments that convinced me, but the bare words [of the Fathers]'.[29] Even so, there was no denying that a general impasse had set in at the council. On the Latin side, a number of patristic passages had been presented which included the expression 'from the Son' while on the Byzantine side, a number of passages put before the council contained the expression 'through the Son'. Still, there was a firm belief among the Byzantines that their prooftext methodology was not completely bankrupt. They were not about to disavow this style of theology but many of them felt that it had to be given a new context in order to reconcile what, at least on paper, seemed irreconcilable differences. The members of the Byzantine delegation obviously realized that an absolute agreement between the Latin and Greek prooftexts was an impossibility so they decided to appeal to the common *experience* of both Churches, i.e., the patristic experience of that very same Spirit whose origin they had been arguing about.

The appeal to sanctity generally relegated patristic prooftexts to a secondary status at Florence. In private discussions, Bessarion, Isidore and Scholarios (who would later recant) urged union on the principle that the Fathers were somehow in agreement even when their writings seemed to contradict one another. As saints, they could not have been mistaken, nor could they have been opposed to one another, because the Holy Spirit had spoken in them.[30] There was, however, a pivotal prooftext which the Byzantines applied in balancing the *filioque* with the expression 'through the Son', found in so many Greek patristic passages. In a letter written by Maximos the Confessor to Marinus of Cyprus, it clearly stated that the Latins 'know in fact that the Father is the only cause of the Son and Spirit, ... but they have manifested the procession through the Son and have thus shown the unity and identity of the essence.'[31] This text salved the conscience of the Byzantines who had at least convinced themselves that the Fathers had not denied an eternal relationship of existence between the Spirit and the Son. So it was agreed that through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the Fathers of the Church had in fact used differing semantic formulae concerning the Holy Spirit which were in some way complementary. The Byzantine delegation went no further in attempting to explain what, at least in philosophical terms, might appear an antinomy. The remainder of the story is well known: the union later collapsed, Constantinople fell and a general feeling

[29] Bessarion, *Epistula ad Alex. Lascarem*, *PG* 161.3608

[30] Gill, *Quae supersunt*, 426.

[31] Maximos the Confessor, *Epistula ad Marinum*, PG 91.136.

has lingered that the council had been completely unfair to the interests of the Byzantine Church.[32]

That the Florentine agreement on the *filioque* appears an antinomy belies the fact that, at least in its better moments, the council was not about philosophy but about the mystery of theology. Although the council's solution has been criticized by many as extremely irresolute, within the context of late Byzantine patristic methodology the experience of the Byzantine delegation, though painful, must be considered a broadening one. Removed from their own theological insularity and self-sufficiency and thrown into a new cultural context, their style of theology immediately began to show cracks. This was inevitable since that style of theology had increasingly been limited to a single linguistic, textual tradition. At least for a brief time at Florence, the Byzantines had been forced to reassess some of the sacred cows of their received methodology. They discovered that patristic prooftexts could not be weighed against their theological opponents when those opponents had a comparable tradition of inspired Fathers. They also sensed that there could never be an absolute agreement of prooftexts when they were created in different cultural and linguistic milieux. And, just perhaps, had the council had the luxury of more time and less constraint, they might have arrived at a fresh approach, even suggesting the possibility of new concepts and terminology in solving the *filioque* problem.[33]

Following the fall of Constantinople, it was not the broadening experience of Florence which motivated the theology of the Great Church in captivity. Its complete reversion to a patristic prooftext methodology provides yet another example of *Byzance après Byzance.* Such a methodology brought about the collapse of the Lutheran-Orthodox dialogue in the sixteenth century.[34] Ironically, as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries progressed, the Orthodox Church drifted away from even this type of methodology, taking on instead the attitudes of late Roman scholasticism and Protestantism. While a compilation of a work such as the *Philokalia* assured some sense of continuity with the living experience of Orthodox spirituality, the new polemic consisted of the adoption of the methodologies of Catholicism and Protestantism in defence of Orthodoxy. A patristic revival was a long time in coming to the Orthodox Church. The earliest sign of a large scale renewal of interest in the writings of the Fathers dates only from the mid-nineteenth century in Russia; for other areas of the Orthodox world such as Greece the arrival occurred

[32] For a very fair contemporary appraisal of the portion of the union decree dealing with the *filioque*, cf. Y. Congar, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit* (New York, 1983) III, 186–8.

[33] It is not a little disconcerting to read how the Byzantine delegation threw away real opportunities to do so in their private discussions. For example, when the name of Gregory of Cyprus (whose concept of eternal manifestation certainly had a bearing on the *filioque* problem) was introduced, very few in the delegation had even heard of him. Cf. V. Laurent (ed.), *Les mémoires du grand ecclésiarque de l'église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos* (Rome, 1971), 442–4.

[34] Cf. G.E. Zachariades, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel* (Göttingen, 1941), 43–5.

much later – well into the twentieth century.[35] But the rediscovery, publication and dissemination of texts brought with it problems similar to those which patristic methodology had faced in late Byzantium, especially the tension between the living experience of the Church and the preservation of doctrinal integrity through patristic writings.

Contemporary Orthodox theologians such as Florovsky and Romanides have wrestled with this legacy from Byzantium, hoping to demonstrate that a theology faithful to the Fathers need not be conceived of as a theology reduced to the words of prooftexts. To date, the success of ventures such as theirs has been mixed. Despite his emphasis on the *existential* character of patristic theology as well as his warning that it was a 'dangerous habit' to quote the Fathers, Florovsky still could not conceive of a theology which did not retain the 'eternal terminology' of the Fathers.[36] Even so, the retention of the original Nicene–Constantinopolitan Creed without the *filioque* does not appear an absolute necessity in his theological system. In much the same way, Romanides has envisioned what he calls an *empirical* theology centred on the heart yet his theology is haunted again and again by the spectre of the *filioque*.[37] Would it be better to view the *filioque* as a methodological problem as did the Byzantine delegation at Florence rather than a theological problem which disrupts the life of the Church? Several modern Orthodox theologians have discerned no difference in the adoration of and participation in the Holy Spirit in the Roman Catholic Church despite the *filioque*.[38] Such a viewpoint places them in direct succession to the charity displayed by the Byzantine delegation at Florence. For them, the experience of the saints in all times and places is comparable. There is a *consensus patrum* but it is not one of prooftexts. Differences of opinion and even error may exist in the Fathers' writings but they all reflect 'the oneness of the reality to which they belong and within which they think, move and live'.[39] Thus, words in themselves can possess only an ancillary nature in the life of the Church, for 'words are not prior to the life of the Church; the life of the Church is prior to the words which express it'.[40] Such an attitude should not be interpreted as an invitation to nominalism but as a corrective to

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[35] G. Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology* (Belmont, Mass., 1987), II, passim; C. Yannaras, 'Theology in Present-Day Greece', *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 16.4 (1972), 195–214.

[36] G. Florovsky, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, Mass., 1972), 108–9; Florovsky, 'Patristics and Modern Theology', in *Procès-verbaux du premier congrès du théologie orthodoxe à Athènes* (Athens, 1939), 238–42.

[37] Cf. especially J. Romanides, *Franks, Romans, Feudalism and Doctrine* (Brookline, Mass., 1981).

[38] Cf. especially S. Bulgakov, *Le Paraclet* (Paris, 1946), 141, and P. Evdokimov, *L'Esprit Saint dans la Tradition Orthodoxe* (Paris, 1969), 76.

[39] A. Schmemann, 'The Orthodox Tradition', in E.O. O'Brien (ed.), *The Convergence of Traditions* (New York, 1967), 24.

[40] Damaskinos of Tranoupolis, Sermon in Palermo Cathedral, 20 Jan. 1980, in *Episkepsis* 224 (7 Feb. 1980), 12.

the 'alphabetization of the ecclesiastical mind' which grew over the centuries, especially at Byzantium. Nor does such an attitude towards words relieve the Churches of responsibility for a creative solution to the *filioque* problem. The successful meetings which the Orthodox Church has held over the past decades with the non-Chalcedonian Churches have focused on differences in theological language with satisfying results and it can only be hoped that the Roman Catholic–Orthodox dialogue will take a similar course.[41]

The great temptation to which the Byzantines increasingly succumbed in the Palaiologan period was to identify their particular style of theology as the only possible expression of Orthodoxy, a temptation to which the modern Orthodox Church has often succumbed. That the patristic methodology which the Byzantines developed instead became a manifestation of Byzantinism certainly cannot be blamed on them entirely; they had increasingly become the victims of circumstances. Under pressure from both East and West, they saw their culture collapsing before their very eyes. That is why the new and unusual approach at Florence comes as such a surprise. Perhaps because it does come as such an unexpected development, few have taken it seriously and many have dismissed it entirely. For some, it does not fit into the 'thought world' of Byzantium; for others, it belittles the faith which the Byzantine Church had struggled to preserve. Yet those who would question its integrity may have failed to appreciate the traditional distrust which the Byzantine tradition also had of words as a vehicle to convey the full truth about a God who was largely unknowable. That aspect of the Byzantine Church's experience can easily be obscured by the battles of words that fill its history. Beyond those words, however, lay the unuttered prayers of the heart; through these 'the whole human being, body, mind and soul could be illumined, transfigured and eventually deified'.[42]

[41] Cf. P. Gregorios, W.H. Lazareth, N.A. Nissiotis (eds.), *Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite?* (Geneva, 1981).

[42] D.M. Nicol, *Church and Society*, 62.

11

Gibbon's influence on Koraes

S. Fassoulakis

It seems at first sight strange that there might be some relation between the well known historian Edward Gibbon (1737–94) and the slightly younger man of letters Adamantios Koraes (1748–1833). The one was an English aristocrat living an eventful life, and exclusively a historian, who took his readers by storm with his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, which appeared between 1776 and 1788. The other was a Greek doctor and classical scholar, who lived continuously and very quietly in Paris from 1788 until his death, and who had no particular interest in history but whose work was well known to European scholars,[1] and played a decisive part in shaping the ideology and the regeneration of the Greeks.[2]

However, even if the existence of some connection between these two intellectuals of the eighteenth century does not at first spring to the eye, it may be possible at certain points to locate a convergence of ideology between them. This convergence I shall try to map out here, appropriately enough since the dedicatee of this volume, Professor Donald Nicol, has been a distinguished holder of the Koraes Chair at the University of London.

Gibbon's views on the medieval world are well known, and need not be rehearsed here. Born into an era when logic and reason were struggling to seize the high ground and deliver eighteenth-century man from traditional prejudices and fixed patterns of perception (and influenced surely by Hume and by the French encyclopedists and rationalists), Gibbon gave two characteristic hallmarks to his historical work: first, the view that the medieval world constituted, as he expressed it in his title, the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and second, the view that responsibility for this protracted decline of the European world lay at the door of the Church and its various ramifications.

Regardless of our perceptions of the medieval world today – with the hindsight of two centuries of intensive research – Koraes, who belonged body

[1] See the relevant papers in the *Πρακτικὰ Συνεδρίου: Κοραὴς καὶ Χίος* I (Athens, 1984), passim.

[2] See D. Thereianos, *Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῆς*, I–III (Trieste, 1889–90); Stephen George Chaconas, *Adamantios Korais: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York, 1942); Ap. B. Daskalakis, *Ὁ Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῆς καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν Ἑλλήνων* (Athens, 1965).

and soul to his age, held comparable views, which were not however absolutely identical with Gibbon's, but at many points approached them closely and found reinforcement in the theories of the English historian.

Koraes was no historian. Influenced by the classicism of his time, to which he made a distinguished contribution, he was interested in history (mostly ancient) to the extent simply that it assisted him in his philological pursuits. It is true that the historical books contained in his personal library, as I myself have ascertained, are not inconsiderable. In his early 'philological' period his books reveal an interest in the ancient world, in general history and in historical lexica, in works by such authors as P. Bayle, A. Boeckh, E. Clavier, Dacier, G. Eichhorn, Saint-Croix and many others. In his later 'political' phase, he shows a powerful interest in the modern world, reading J. Bristed, J.F. Cooper, De Bousset, J.A. Dulaire, Fleury, D. Hume, Montgaillard, Lafayette, Saint-Simon, Stanhope, D.B. Warden, among others. The medieval world is little represented. We should mention, however, that in addition to C. Labbaeus, I. Meursius and Du Cange, Koraes acquired 15 volumes of the Bonn Corpus between 1828 and 1832.[3]

Koraes' view of the medieval world, then, was the prevailing one of his time, and this was well attuned to his ideology, which in turn was strongly influenced by his classical education, the *Encyclopédie*, rationalism and the Enlightenment, by the spirit of the French Revolution and his links with the 'Ideologues'of his time.[4]

In Koraes' eyes what today we call Byzantine history was 'Hellenism in decline'[5] or the period of the 'Graeco-Romans', as distinct from that of the 'Hellenes' or 'Greeks', by which he meant the ancient Greeks. In Koraes' terminology 'Greeks' (Γραικοί) meant the moderns.[6] The decline of the Greeks had begun with the Roman conquest, when the Romans began to look down their noses at the *Graeculi*.[7] Infused with the anti-absolutist spirit of the time, he laid the blame principally on the Byzantine leadership and its administrative methods.[8] He speaks of the idiocy and mindlessness of the

[3] See Koraes Library in Chios, MS. 476/32; cf. Koraes, *Ἀλληλογραφία*, ed. K. Th. Dimaras et al., VI (Athens, 1984), 176.

[4] See Philip Iliou, Στὴν τροχιὰ τῶν Ἰδεολόγων· Κοραῆς-Daunou-Φουρναράκης, *Chiaka Chronika* 10 (1978), 36–68, and Roxane D. Argyropoulos, Ἡ σκέψη τῶν Ἰδεολόγων στὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἀδαμαντίου Κοραῆ, *Πρακτικὰ Συνεδρίου: Κοραὴς καὶ Χίος* II (Athens, 1985), 31–46.

[5] Koraes, *Ἀλληλογραφία*, III (Athens, 1979), 106.

[6] Koraes, *Τί πρέπει νὰ κάμωσιν οἱ Γραικοὶ εἰς τὰς παρούσας περιστάσεις· Διάλογος δύο Γραικῶν κατοίκων τῆς Βενετίας* (hereafter: *Διάλογος δύο Γραικῶν*) (Venice [= Paris], 1805), 37–8, and 43–4. Koraes calls the Modern Greek language Γραικικὴ and Ῥωμαίικα (Koraes, *Ἀλληλογραφία*, III, 105); besides, however, he speaks περὶ *ἑλληνικῶν* συμφερόντων (Koraes, *Περὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν συμφερόντων διάλογος δύο Γραικῶν*, I–II (Paris, 1825–7).

[7] Koraes, *Συλλογὴ τῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν βιβλιοθήκην καὶ τὰ Πάρεργα προλεγομένων* (hereafter: *Προλεγόμενα*), I (Paris, 1833), 375 and n.3.

[8] Koraes, *Ἀδελφικὴ διδασκαλία* (Rome [= Paris], 1798), 31–2.

'Graeco-Roman' emperors,[9] of the barbarism that enveloped the Greek nation,[10] of the lack of education since the emperors gave funds instead to churches and monasteries.[11] The Greeks, finally, during the Byzantine period possessed only a pale shadow of their former freedom.[12] The result was the Turkish conquest which seized the Greeks 'from the paralysed hands of despots, the Graeco-Roman emperors'.[13] In general Koraes accepts that the Middle Ages were for the common people a time of hardship while the clergy and the nobles enjoyed a golden age.[14] Worst of all, for Koraes, was the continuance of the Graeco-Roman tradition even after the Turkish conquest of Greece, particularly in the leadership of the Church. He had no desire to see this continue beyond the liberation of Greece. He was irritated by even the most insignificant reminders of Byzantium.[15]

This brief selection of examples could be extended almost infinitely, if we were to follow through, page by page, Koraes' prefaces to his editions of ancient writers, his political pamphlets and his correspondence. The few examples cited here are intended only to support our examination of the extent to which these ideas of Koraes were influenced by the views of Gibbon.

I should say at this point that my researches in successive catalogues of the books in Koraes' possession have not revealed that Koraes owned Gibbon's *History*. It is very probable, however, that the copy of the work which survives in the Koraes Library in Chios originated in Koraes' private collection.[16] This supposition is rendered stronger by the fact that Koraes knew and made use of the French translation of Gibbon's *History*. Indeed, in the preface to the first volume of his *Atakta* (1828), Koraes makes frequent references to Gibbon's work, as reinforcement for his opinions. In parallel he also uses books by other writers who belong to the same ideological climate.[17]

Let us follow him in action. Koraes' view that the Byzantine emperors, and Alexios Komnenos in particular, introduced idleness and luxury into their courts, in imitation of the Persians and Parthians, and lavishly handed out offices,

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[9] Koraes, *Προλεγόμενα*, 328.

[10] Koraes, *Διάλογος δύο Γραικῶν*, 33.

[11] Koraes, *Ἀλληλογραφία*, IV (Athens, 1982), 373; cf. also 375.

[12] Koraes, *Διάλογος δύο Γραικῶν*, 6.

[13] Koraes, *Περὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν συμφερόντων διάλογος δύο Γραικῶν*, I (Hydra [= Paris], 1825), 42; Koraes, *Ἀλληλογραφία*, IV, 373; Koraes, *Σημειώσεις εἰς τὸ προσωρινὸν πολίτευμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοῦ 1822 ἔτους*, (Athens, 1933), 118.

[14] Koraes, *Περὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν συμφερόντων*, I, 96.

[15] ... βλέπω [...] ὑπογραφὴν Ὁ Χίου κ.τ.λ. σκοτεινὰ μονοκονδηλιακὰ γραμμένα, κατὰ τὴν σκοτεινὴν τῶν Βυζαντίων συνήθειαν, Koraes, *Ἀλληλογραφία*, VI (Athens, 1984), 201.

[16] Edouard Gibbon, *Histoire de la décadence et de la chûte de l'empire romain*, traduite de l'anglais par M. F. Guizot, n.e., I–XIII (Paris, 1819). The copy in the Koraes Library in Chios bears the signature of Kallinikos Kreatsoulis. On the relations between the two men see S. Fassoulakis, Κοραὴς καὶ Κρεατσούλης· Δύο ἀνέκδοτες ἐπιστολές, *Chiaka Chronika* 15 (1983), 10–16.

[17] For example those of Daunou, De Potter, Montgaillard, Muller, et al.; see below, n.25.

finds its support in Gibbon (X 503–9).[18] On the same subject, and especially on the dissolute character of Angelos, Koraes again takes Gibbon as his source, converting his four million pounds (XII 17) to one hundred million French francs.

In support of the view that the anointing of the emperor by the patriarch was transplanted to Byzantium from the West, he translates from Gibbon (IX 335, n. 1): 'The English historian Gibbon, in his account of the anointing of king Pepin of France by Pope Stephen III [about the middle of the eighth century], states explicitly, "From the Latins the anointing of emperors was borrowed by Constantinople, during the last years of the empire. Constantine Manasses, speaking of the anointing of Charlemagne, describes it as a foreign rite, Judaic and incomprehensible" '.[19]

Authoritarianism and the display of power by the patriarch Michael Keroularios are revealed by his demand to wear 'purple sandals', like Persian monarchs; 'this ludicrous comedy'[20] was renewed 270 years later, according to Gibbon (XII 250), Koraes says, although he parts company with the English historian where he had asserted that Keroularios had been the first to adopt the title of Ecumenical Patriarch, which he considered had more probably been used much earlier.

The dark picture which Koraes goes on to give of medieval monasteries and the tyranny of the abbots over the monks is reinforced by examples from Gibbon (VI 503). On the other hand Koraes considers as a pointless farce the humiliating penalties which were imposed in Constantinople.[21] He cites an example from Gibbon (VIII 321): the public humiliation of Isaiah, bishop of Rhodes, and of Alexander, bishop of Diospolis, a punishment which, according to Koraes, demonstrated no more than the low general regard in which the clergy was held and the harshness of the laws.

When he turns to the relations which developed between Western leaders and Byzantium, Koraes condemns the unjustifiable use of Western dignitaries in the service of Byzantium and the establishment of huge numbers of Italian merchants in Constantinople. His examples once again are taken from Gibbon (XII 13–14, 67). As a consequence the Graeco-Romans came to acquire a great many foreign political and religious customs such as, always according to Gibbon (XII 121, 177–80), the imposition of the Jewish tithe on the clergy and the Last Judgement. The plunder, furthermore, of holy relics by the crusaders became a serious cause of the multiplication of monastic orders, of the creation

[18] All the references to Gibbon's work are to the French translation by Guizot.

[19] Koraes, *Ἄτακτα, ἤγουν παντοδαπῶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ τὴν νέαν ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοσχεδίων σημειώσεων καί τινων ἄλλων ὑπομνημάτων αὐτοσχέδιος συναγωγή*, I (Paris, 1828), ιε'.

[20] Koraes, *Ἄτακτα* I, ιβ'-ιγ'.

[21] Koraes, *Ἄτακτα* I, ιθ'-κ'; cf. Koraes, *Σημειώσεις εἰς τὸ προσωρινὸν πολίτευμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 119.

of indulgences and the Holy Inquisition, and the development of religious intolerance (Gibbon XII 76–91, 150).[22]

This was the situation in which the sultan found Byzantium in the fifteenth century. Instead of an army on the alert he found monasteries and monks squabbling over points of dogma, and learned men dabbling with paper and inkpots, Koraes asserts, echoing Gibbon (XII 84; XIII 78).[23] Nonetheless, even such a relentless critic of the Middle Ages as Gibbon (XI 25) is obliged to admit – Koraes finally concludes – that the Eastern bishops, compared to their Western counterparts, can be considered the true inheritors of the Apostles.[24]

From this brief exposition of Koraes' ideas about the Middle Ages, supported by Gibbon's historical conclusions, the question arises whether Koraes' attitudes derive directly and exclusively from Gibbon. Neither the date of publication of the *Atakta* (1828), nor that of the French translation of Gibbon's *History* (1819), nor Koraes' notes, which refer to a great variety of writers,[25] nor even – more important still – Koraes' known and attested ideology, justify such an assertion. We may however conclude with some confidence, on the basis of what has been said above, that Koraes' ideas about the Middle Ages, which he had studied far less than he had either the ancient or the modern world, found in Gibbon a sure foundation which assisted him in making them more precise and historically viable. The grounding of Koraes' perception, then, is to be found not only in the conceptual framework of the eighteenth-century French historians, chiefly Montesquieu, Voltaire and Lebeau, but also in that of the more recent Gibbon.

[22] Koraes, *Ἄτακτα* I, κδ'; cf. Koraes, *Σημειώσεις εἰς τὸ προσωρινὸν πολίτευμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 119–22.

[23] Koraes, *Ἄτακτα* I, λζ'-λη'; cf. Koraes, *Ἀλληλογραφία*, IV, 281.

[24] Koraes, *Ἄτακτα* I, μς', n.1.

[25] For example, in volume I of the *Ἄτακτα* there are references to: Jean de Muller, *Histoire universelle*, I–IV (Paris, 1813–7); [Daunou], *Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des Papes*, I–II (Paris, 1818); De Potter, *L'esprit de l'Eglise*, I–VIII (Paris, 1821); De Potter, *Vie de Scipion de Ricci*, I–III (Brussels, 1825); Montgaillard, *Histoire de France*, I–IX (Paris, 1827).

12

Georgina Buckler: the making of a British Byzantinist

Charlotte Roueché

Georgina Buckler was one of the very first British scholars to proceed, from a classical background, to the study of a Byzantine author. Her intellectual voyage reflected, to a great extent, her own personal experiences; but it also reflected wider trends, which are of more general interest, which went back to an earlier generation, and which merit discussion in the context of the development of Byzantine studies. Some of her interests, and something of her approach, were foreshadowed in the life of her father, Theodore Walrond.[1]

Theodore Walrond was the second son of a merchant trading between Glasgow and the West Indies. In 1834, at the age of ten, he went to Rugby, where he was a contemporary and friend of Arthur Hugh Clough, the poet, and the headmaster's sons, Matthew and Tom Arnold. Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, who almost certainly took Walrond as the model for one of the more heroic characters in that work, wrote in Walrond's obituary that he 'went up the school like a rocket';[2] in October 1840 he became the school's youngest ever head boy. He was still in that position when Doctor Arnold died in June 1842, and stayed on for an extra term 'to carry on the traditions of the school'.[3]

In October 1842 he won a top scholarship to Balliol, where Clough and Matthew and Thomas Arnold were already undergraduates, and the four formed a close friendship. The atmosphere of Oxford was full of new ideas, especially on religious topics. As Hughes wrote:

> There were few rooms in which theology, philosophic and social problems were handled more freely ... But ... he never lost his own firm foothold, or his grasp on the Ten Commandments and the Church Catechism.[4]

This paper was originally written for a colloquium organized by Richard Clogg in March 1988 at King's College London. I am grateful to him for inviting me to speak, and to my parents for helping me to find much of the material used here; I am also grateful to Sir Steven Runciman for some very helpful observations.

[1] See J. Curgenven, 'Theodore Walrond: Friend of Arnold and Clough', *Durham University Journal* 44 (1952), 56–61; Mr Curgenven consulted Georgina Buckler when preparing his article.

[2] *The Spectator* 40 (25 June 1887), 859.

[3] G. G. Bradley, *Guardian* 42.ii (6 July 1887), 1030.

[4] Curgenven, 'Theodore Walrond'.

After obtaining his First Class in Greats in 1846 and in Mathematics in 1847, his first move was back to Rugby, where he taught as an assistant master for three years. In 1851 he returned to Balliol as a Fellow and mathematical tutor, and remained there for five years. During this period he came to know Arthur Stanley who had preceded him at Rugby and Balliol, before becoming a canon of Canterbury in 1851; in the winter of 1852–3 Walrond accompanied Stanley to the Middle East. That journey formed the basis for Stanley's influential work, *Sinai and Palestine*, published in 1856; in the preface the author paid a special tribute to Walrond's contribution:

> Without him the journey, to which I shall always look back as one of the most instructive periods of my life, would in all probability never have been accomplished: on his accurate observation and sound judgement I have constantly relied, both on the spot and since; and though I have touched too slightly on Egypt to avail myself of his knowledge and study of the subject where it would have been most valuable, I feel that his kind supervision of the rest of the volume gives a strong guarantee for the faithful representation of the scenes which we explored together, and of the conclusions to be derived from them.

The purpose of the journey was to visit 'the well-known scenes of sacred history in Egypt, Arabia and Syria'. By the 1850s, many other travellers had already described the places concerned; but Stanley could still claim that while much had been written 'on the History and Geography of the Chosen People, there have been comparatively few attempts to illustrate the relation in which each stands to the other'. His aim was 'on the one hand, to omit no geographical feature which throws any direct light on the History or the Poetry of the Sacred Volume; and, on the other, to insert no descriptions except those which have such a purpose'. There seems to be an implied contrast here with some of the more frivolous or rakish accounts of travels in the East which circulated in the earlier nineteenth century.[5] There is also a specific claim for the value of current learning and modern understanding of the ancient world in assisting the understanding of Scripture, which is completely characteristic of the period. The whole undertaking is full of a sobriety and moderation of purpose, coupled with confident ambition, which seem very Arnoldian.

In this undertaking, the term 'geography' had a wide sense. The first result which Stanley and his companions expected from their geographical study was a better understanding of 'the general character of the nation to which it has furnished a home'. Second, they hoped to ascertain 'how far the forms and expressions of its poetry, its philosophy and its worship have been affected'. Third, they looked for 'explanations of particular events', and only fourth, for 'evidence of the truth of history'.[6] In many ways they were laying down the principles for a modern form of pilgrimage, now that travel to the Holy Lands

[5] Compare, above all, Kinglake's claims for *Eothen*, published in 1844.

[6] *Sinai and Palestine, in Connection with their History* (London, 1856), Preface.

had again become possible. One charm of the trip was their belief that 'the framework of life, of customs, of manners, even of dress and speech, is still substantially the same as it was ages ago'. The resultant work was lucidly and attractively written, and was widely read. On the strength of it, Stanley was chosen to accompany the Prince of Wales to Palestine in 1859, after which he produced a revised edition, which continued to be reissued for the rest of the century, as interest in the geography and history of the Bible grew steadily.

But there was another aspect to this journey. Stanley observed in his preface that the geography of the Holy Land was itself overlaid with the later history of the development of Christianity:

> Greece and Italy have geographical charms of a high order. But they have never provoked a crusade; and, however bitter may have been the disputes of antiquaries about the Acropolis of Athens or the Forum of Rome, they have never, as at Bethlehem and Jerusalem, become matters of religious controversy – grounds for interpreting old prophecies or producing new ones – cases for missions of diplomats or for the war of civilised nations.[7]

The reference here is not just to the crusades, for Jerusalem had recently been an issue of crucial contemporary importance. In the 1830s Baron Bunsen, a German diplomat and a close friend of Dr Thomas Arnold, had proposed that a protestant bishop of Jerusalem be appointed, to preside over both the Lutherans and the Anglicans. The suggestion was furiously opposed by the Catholic wing of the Church of England, and the Jerusalem bishopric was one of the issues which finally decided John Henry Newman to leave that church in 1846.[8]

It is hard not to believe that Stanley had this in mind. But, more broadly, the Oxford Movement had based many of its claims on reference to early church tradition, and had come to re-examine the development of early church doctrine. Another formative influence on Newman was his examination of the Arian heresy and the doctrines of Athanasius.[9] Such an increase of interest in early church history necessarily led to a re-examination of the church which was most obviously the inheritor of the Church of Constantine – the Eastern Orthodox Church. In 1847 and 1850 John Mason Neale had published two volumes of his *History of the Holy Eastern Church*,[10] and a sympathetic study had been published by William Palmer in 1853.[11]

The visit to the Holy Lands had necessarily brought Stanley and his companions into contact with that Church, even if their impressions were not very favourable; the monks of the Monastery of St Catherine on Sinai proved disappointingly unscholarly as guides:

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[7] *Sinai and Palestine*, Preface, xii–xiii.

[8] See Newman, *Apologia pro vita sua* (Everyman edition), 141–2.

[9] Newman, *Apologia*, 139–40.

[10] The book was written in the perhaps not ideal setting of the English Rooms at Madeira, where Neale had gone for reasons of health.

[11] *Dissertations on the Orthodox, or Eastern Communion* (London, 1853).

> There is probably no branch of the vast fraternity of *ciceroni* so unequal to their task as the twenty-one monks of the most interesting convent in the world. Exiles from the islands in the Greek Archipelago; rebels against monastic rules at home; lunatics sent for recovery; none as a general rule remaining longer than two or three years; with an imperfect knowledge of Arabic, with no call upon their exertions and no check upon their ignorance, they know less about the localities which surround them than the humblest of the Bedouin serfs who wait upon their bounty.[12]

But it is clear that the Orthodox Church made a deeper impression on Stanley than this might suggest. Shortly after the completion of *Sinai and Palestine*, he was appointed Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford in December 1856; and in February 1857, he delivered his inaugural series of lectures on church history. In summer 1857, he set off to visit Russia – the other home of the orthodox tradition – and in the autumn of the same year he delivered his *Lectures on the Eastern Church*.[13] The influence of his travels on the development of this interest is clear. In his initial lecture Stanley put forward reasons why the study of the Eastern Church was important. The primary one was its function as a repository of ancient tradition:

> The churches which have sprung up in those regions retain the ancient customs of the East, and of the primitive age of Christianity, long after they have died out everywhere else. Look for a moment at the countries included within the range of the Oriental Churches. What they lose in historical they gain in geographical grandeur. Their barbarism and their degradation have bound them to the local peculiarities from which the more progressive church of the West has shaken itself free. It is a church, in fact, not of cities and villages, but of mountains and rivers and caves and dens of the earth.[14]

The concept of national character is still very apparent in these lectures:

> The Oriental Church, as a whole, almost from the time that it assumed a distinct existence, has given tokens of that singular immobility which is in great part to be traced to its Eastern origin – its origin in those strange regions which still retain not only the climate and the vegetation, but the manners, the dress, the speech of the days of the Patriarchs and the Pharaohs.[15]

But the Greek Church 'presents to us, in however corrupt and degraded a form, the old, glorious, world-inspiring people of Athens, Thebes and Sparta'; the clergy had a particular role in 'that cause of Greek liberty, in behalf of which in our own country the past generation was so zealous and the present generation is so indifferent'.[16]

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[12] *Sinai and Palestine*, 31

[13] Published in 1861; republished, with some modifications in the light of visits to Constantinople, Mount Athos, and Alexandria, 1869.

[14] *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church* (London, 1861); Everyman edition, 57.

[15] *Lectures*, 76.

[16] *Lectures*, 65.

On the whole Stanley was more excited by the Russian Church, which he had visited so recently; but his lectures were widely read, and were influential in attracting attention to the Eastern Church as a whole, and its world. His view of it was perhaps chiefly as a point of reference, a kind of historical document. The closing section of his first lecture was devoted to the usefulness of the study of the Eastern Church to the Church of England:

> If ever ... any changes should be attempted in the English Prayer-Book, many scruples might be soothed by recurring to the model of the Eastern Church. What has never been received into the creeds or the services of churches venerable as those of Oriental Christendom cannot by any sound argument be represented as indispensable to the Church of England.[17]

In this, as in other ways, Stanley both influenced and represented much of the thought of his day.

By the time Stanley returned to Oxford, in 1856, his old friend Walrond had already left. In 1855 he joined the newly created Civil Service Commission, set up to organize the new system of selecting civil servants by public examination. He stayed in what seems to us an unromantic organization, but was then presumably an exciting new undertaking, for the rest of his life, becoming one of the three commissioners in 1875. There was only one moment at which he seemed about to change his career; in 1869 he was a candidate for the headmastership of Rugby, but was passed over, apparently because he was not in Holy Orders. Despite this change of career, Walrond remained in touch with the intellectual circles of his earlier life. In 1859 he married Miss Charlotte Eliot Grenfell. Miss Grenfell, the daughter of Riversdale Grenfell, Esq., was connected with several distinguished scholars. Her sister married Professor Max Müller, the German orientalist who became a Professor at Oxford in 1850, and to whom Stanley had made reference in the preface to the *Lectures on the Eastern Church*; one of her aunts was married to the historian James Anthony Froude, whose brother Hurrell was closely involved with the Tractarians; another aunt, Fanny, was married to Charles Kingsley. It was for his niece Charlotte that Kingsley wrote his poem apostrophizing her to 'Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever'. It was Kingsley, too, who produced one of the most successful evocations of the early Byzantine world in his novel *Hypatia*, published in 1853. It was Kingsley's criticisms which provoked Newman into writing his *Apologia* in 1864, of which Walrond published an energetic critique.[18] Walrond also composed the entry on Thomas Arnold for the *Dictionary of National Biography* in 1885, and he was entrusted with the task of writing the biography of Dean Stanley after the latter's death in 1881.[19] His observations on Arnold are perceptive and revealing of the position in which

[17] *Lectures*, 94.

[18] *North British Review* 41 (August 1864).

[19] He was still engaged on this at the time of his death.

those trying to strike a 'middle way' could find themselves in the heat of the conflicts in Victorian England: 'Many who admired his freedom of thought could not understand his firm adherence to the old faith; many who shared his reverent spirit were shocked by his liberal opinions.'

Charlotte Walrond had three sons and three daughters, before her death of a miscarriage in 1872, when she was 31, and the youngest of those children, Georgina, born in 1868, was three. In 1876, when Georgina was seven, Theodore Walrond remarried; his second wife was Henrietta Louisa Grenfell, the second cousin of his first wife, who was then aged 50. Georgina gives a telling description of her: 'Whatever Mama thought her duty she did unflinchingly, even when it involved (as she thought) telling painful truths to others.' These truths included 'warning me that I must never expect to get on as well in Society as my two elder sisters, because I was "so much less attractive".'[20] But Georgina does write of her with real affection and respect.

The Walronds were not particularly well-off – a civil servant's pay was not over-generous, and the Walrond private fortune, based on sugar plantations in the West Indies, had been decreasing steadily in value; there was only enough money to send two of the three boys to university. The three girls were given a sound education at home by a governess; Georgina's lessons started the day after her third birthday, and she could read when she was four; later she learnt some elementary Latin as well as French and German. Her diaries reveal a sober way of life, where it was normal to attend three church services – each with a sermon – every Sunday; the family did not do much formal entertaining, but had a large circle of friends and cousins, most of them far better off than the Walronds. Her stepmother, while clearly duly affectionate, had made it clear to Georgina that, not being a beauty, she would do best to develop her intellect. The opportunity to do this arose when, in the early 1880s, the Walronds moved from Taplow, near Maidenhead, to live in London, at Lancaster Gate. In 1872 The Girls' Public Day School Trust had been established with the motto 'Knowledge is now no more a Fountain Sealed' to provide a high standard of education for girls without requiring them to go away from home. One of the principal founders, Lady Stanley of Alderley, was a cousin of Georgina's aunt, Mrs Henry Grenfell, and Mrs Grenfell became a member of the council of the trust. Lancaster Gate was only a short walk from the second school opened by the trust in 1873, Notting Hill High School, and it seems likely that Mrs Grenfell encouraged Mrs Walrond to send her clever but plain stepdaughter to the school.[21]

On 20 January 1885 Georgina, aged 16, started at the high school. It was still a relatively unusual step for a girl of her background; in her diary for the first

[20] *Reminiscences* (unpublished), 14.

[21] It is entirely indicative of the scale of priorities that Mrs Grenfell never sent her own daughter, of exactly the same age, to school; her parents needed her at home, and did not want to be kept in London for too many months of the year.

day she records: 'The girls as a set are not attractive. I should think several were tradesmen's daughters'. But she travelled to school every day with the local vicar's daughter.[22] She soon found other congenial spirits – among whom was Miss Hilda Stevenson, daughter of an MP, the future mother of another Byzantinist – Sir Steven Runciman. School almost immediately started to provide stimulation and delight. On 6 February of the same year she wrote in her diary 'I am to learn Greek during the scripture hour – joy, joy !'.[23] The Greek, which she found 'decidedly tough',[24] was taught by a Miss MacLeod, to whom she was soon passionately devoted. She immediately began to achieve excellent marks in all subjects. But the freedom which school offered was to a certain extent limited by a firm regime at home. In the autumn she had come second in an essay competition for all the girls at trust schools; but when the school wanted to print her essay in the school magazine, her father refused permission; he 'disliked the publicity of it'.[25] In March she learned that she had obtained a First Class in the Cambridge senior local examinations.[26] On the strength of that she received an offer from Newnham College of a scholarship of £35 for three years;[27] this was followed by two offers from Girton, of scholarships of £42 and £35. All of these she had to refuse;[28] the reason was presumably both her age (she was still only seventeen) but probably also the family finances. In a letter later in life she wrote that, when she decided she did want to go to Cambridge – presumably as a result of these offers – her father 'thought it a mistake and a pity', but would not stand in her way. While it cannot be detected through the respectful pages of her diary, there must have been some tension between the influences of her family and of the school. In the April 1886 school exams she again shone, and was described to a visitor by the headmistress as 'going to be "one of the leading women of the future"'.[29]

In her diary she also kept a record of public events, occasionally with a personal connection. During 1885–6 the widowed Queen was at last starting to reappear in public; in May 1886 she opened the Colonial Exhibition at the Albert Hall, where, as part of the festivities, ' "God Save the Queen" was sung by the Albert Hall Choir in Sanscrit, translated by Uncle Max' (Professor Max Müller).[30] She

[22] Miss Una Ridgeway, who was in due course to marry a young man called Ronald Burrows – the future Principal of King's College, without whom the Koraes Chair might never have been established; see R. Clogg, *Politics and the Academy* (London, 1986).

[23] By the end of her first term she got the top examination marks in her form: 'Miss Jones (the headmistress) was so pleased with me that she kissed me'. Diary, 1 April 1885.

[24] Diary entry.

[25] Diary entry, 19 February 1886.

[26] As had also her cousin Maud Grenfell, still being taught at home. She was second girl in all England; in English, Scripture and German she was first of both boys and girls. (Diary entries, 3 March, 13 March and 29 March 1886.)

[27] Diary entry, 11 March 1886.

[28] Diary entry, 29 March 1886.

[29] Diary entry, 16 April 1886; her lowest mark was 81 per cent.

[30] Diary entry, 4 May 1886.

had her first Greek lesson with Papa ('so nice') during the holidays.[31] In November 1886 she was taken by Miss MacLeod to a course of four lectures at the South Kensington Museum by Jane Harrison, on 'Attic Myths as Represented on Greek Pottery'; she made an exquisite illustrated précis of their contents.

During 1886–7 Georgina was working for the next major national examination, the Cambridge higher local, which she was to take in mid-June 1887. At the end of May that year Theodore Walrond, now aged 63, felt unwell, and went to the doctor; he went away for a long weekend in the country, but returned no better. On 4 June he took to his bed, and, when Georgina came back from tea with friends she found 'lots of hats in the hall': the doctors were upstairs, operating on her father.[32] She started her examinations on 13 June, and was due to take another paper two days later; but that day her father's condition suddenly worsened. The preparations for the Queen's Jubilee were going on, and, as Theodore became more confused, he urged his family to go and watch, and not mind him. He died early on the morning of 16 June 1887. He was much mourned, and a group of his friends subsequently commissioned a memorial for Balliol Chapel, composed in Latin by Jowett.

In the autumn of that year Georgina worked for the rest of the Higher Local examinations – even in the grim circumstances of the summer examinations she had obtained a distinction in the Greek paper which she had taken. She was also working for an essay prize, offered to girls in schools of the Girls' Public Day School Trust by Lady Stanley of Alderley – the subject was a comparison of the style of Macaulay and Carlyle. In November she learned that she had got the first prize: 'I went to tea with Lady Stanley on the strength of it: she was alarming, but very kind. She was quite rabid about my *duty* in going to Girton.'[33] In December she retook the higher local examinations, Group B, and obtained a First, with distinctions in Greek, Latin and French.[34] In June she took the Girton scholarship examination,[35] and came out first, winning a scholarship of 80 guineas a year, which must have been a considerable help to her widowed stepmother. At the end of July she left Notting Hill High School;[36] and on 12 October 1888 Georgina Walrond went up to Girton to read Classics.

For her days at Cambridge we have both letters and two fascinating diaries. The resultant impression of the life of a woman undergraduate in the 1880s is very different from what one might expect. Her particular good fortune was

[31] In July 1886, for the first time, she took a school examination in Greek, and came first, with 83 per cent (Diary entries, 24 July 1886 and 17 August 1886).

[32] Diary entry.

[33] Diary, November 1887.

[34] Diary, January 16 1888.

[35] At Burlington House. Diary, 11–14 June 1888.

[36] 'Top in all I took, except Euclid. Lowest marks 90' (Diary, 27 July 1888).

that she came up with several introductions to families in Cambridge; and it is clear that, as long as a young lady could find a chaperone from among the married ladies of Cambridge, she could have an extremely active social life, with endless dinner parties, and even private dances. In a later memoir she described how Cambridge revealed to her a wider world of people from different backgrounds, and even foreigners: 'I had grown up to think that everyone who did not think and speak like my own brothers and sisters was peculiar, and must if possible be shunned.'[37] In her letters it is clear that she did not approve at first of the style of some of the people she met; in a letter of 1888 she commented unfavourably on the untidiness of Miss Fawcett, but in 1890 she was in the crowd which went to cheer at the announcement that Miss Fawcett had been placed higher than the Senior Wrangler.

Despite all her social activity, however, she worked extremely hard throughout her Cambridge career. In a letter to her cousin she describes her Girton day. She would get up at 5.45 and work; if she fell asleep, the maid was instructed to wake her again at 7.00. At 8.00 she would attend prayers, followed by breakfast at 8.15, and a day of study. 'It is really too delicious reading all the books I have longed to for years, the Hippolytus, Prometheus, etc', she wrote in 1888, when she was already being warned not to read too much.[38] Later she commented that she was enjoying Plautus, Homer, 'and some Catullus, which is quite delightful. I recommend him to your notice. Of course, there is any amount that it is simply too coarse and improper for words in all these worthies. It is the great drawback of Classics, I think.'[39]

In 1890 her letters to her cousin began to include references to someone called 'the HB' or 'the Heaven-Born'. It was a good description of WHB, William Hepburn Buckler, who did have a slightly unreal quality. He had been born a year before her, in 1867, in Paris, but he was an American citizen. His father was a doctor from Baltimore, Maryland, who had married a strong-minded widow with two sons, Eliza White. After the end of the war between the States, Mrs Buckler decided that the Southern States were no longer fit for gentlemanly life, and the family had moved to Paris. They lived in a community of Americans from the South, and saw very little society. William was educated at home; his mother began his education, teaching him to read at four, and starting him on Latin at five. When he was six he began to be taught by a French governess, and he was effectively bilingual for the rest of his life, as well as acquiring German and Italian while he was a child; his mother also taught herself Greek in order to be able to read the New Testament with him in that language. He continued to be educated privately until, in 1887, he was allowed to go to Trinity College, Cambridge.

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[37] *The Girton Review*, 1928.

[38] Letter, 1888.

[39] Letter, March 1889.

At Cambridge he found himself among his own contemporaries almost for the first time. This was a challenge, as was the task of getting to grips with a new educational system devised to meet the requirements of the products of England's public schools. He found very little help or guidance from his tutor, and felt afterwards that while working diligently, he had in fact been allowed to waste much of his time. For the first three years he read history, but only obtained a Third in 1890; in the following year he studied law, and obtained a Class II with distinction in 1891. He had a classical education behind him, and appeared in the Cambridge Greek play in 1890, as Athene in the *Ion*. He also had a busy social life, both in Cambridge and in London, where his much older half-brother was Chargé d'Affaires at the United States Embassy. But on 25 May 1889 he met Georgina Walrond, and by 1890 her letters were already full of him. That winter she met his formidable mother for the first time, and in March 1891 they became engaged. Despite all these excitements, in 1891 she was the only woman to obtain a First Class in the Classical Tripos, Part I, Division 3. Mrs Buckler immediately carried her son off on a long visit to the United States, perhaps to test his resolve, but in May 1892 Georgina and William Buckler were married.

It was a step into an entirely new world for Georgina. The Walronds had not been well off since Theodore's death. She was now married to a rich man, who took her off to his family property in Baltimore, Maryland. There he became a member of the Bar, and practised for ten years in a local law firm, as well as studying in the Law School at the University of Maryland and publishing articles; his two chief interests were trade unionism, and Roman law. It is less easy to trace Georgina's activities. She was busy being a very active hostess and fulfilling the other duties of the wife of a prominent citizen; she was involved in starting a women's club, and assembling money for a range of good causes. She also worked on lectures for various groups, and for a Cambridge University essay prize. But she had other preoccupations. In 1893 her first child, Lucy, was born. The birth was a difficult one; and the next sixteen years were punctuated by a series of pregnancies which ended badly – in a note of her life she records four premature babies, who died, as well as several miscarriages, each followed by a longer convalescence than the last, until the eventual birth of Barbara in February 1909, when Georgina was 40. This must have thrown a very dark shadow over these years, and is something from which she never entirely recovered.

By 1903 both the Bucklers were feeling restless; William gave up his job with the Baltimore law firm, and, with his wife and daughter, went to spend the winter in Rome,[40] followed by a visit to Greece. For both of them, it was their first contact with the visible remains of the civilizations which they had studied, and it made a very deep impression on them. The influence of this

[40] His brother was at the embassy there.

experience was not felt immediately. In the following years William continued to write on legal subjects, and to perform his public functions in Baltimore; in 1904 he became Secretary to the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University. Georgina also turned her mind towards the university, and started work for a PhD in Hebrew at Johns Hopkins. Then in 1906 a new opening arose, when William accepted the position of Secretary to the Special United States Envoy who was sent to Spain to attend the marriage of the king, Alfonso XIII. He and his family spent the rest of that year travelling in Europe, and when they returned to Baltimore, William, half seriously, took the Diplomatic Service examination, and achieved 95 per cent. As a consequence, he accepted a post at the American Embassy in Madrid in 1907.

But, in the very same year, before taking up that post, he travelled with two other American scholars, Howard Butler of Princeton, and David Robinson of Johns Hopkins, to Constantinople, to look into the possibilities for excavating at the site of Sardis, in ancient Lydia. Between 1907 and 1909 the Bucklers were living in Madrid – from where Georgina travelled in autumn 1908 to England for the successful birth of their second and last surviving child early in 1909. But William had continued to consider the Sardis project, and to become more and more actively involved. In 1909, when his tour of duty in Madrid came to an end, he left the Foreign Service; and in May 1910 he set off to join the excavations at Sardis. In his first year on the site his duties were largely administrative; but in 1911 the excavators found a large inscription in the temple, which he recognized as a mortgage, and was able to interpret from his study of Roman law. From that moment he took over responsibility for the inscriptions uncovered by the excavation.[41]

During this period Georgina did not accompany him to Turkey, but remained with her precious new daughter, living chiefly in Bournemouth, where the climate was considered best for the baby. It seems clear, however, that she was closely involved with the development of this new interest, that was so much a continuation of the tradition in which she had been brought up.

The American expedition worked at Sardis every spring from 1910 to 1914. In August that year the Bucklers were on holiday in France, when war broke out. As soon as they were safely back in England, William returned to his native Paris, and joined the American Ambulance Corps. Georgina followed him, and together they set up a branch of the Red Cross Inquiry for the Wounded and Missing, initially at Boulogne. But by the end of that year they had returned to London, where he had been called into service by the United States Embassy, to act in charge of Turkish, and later Austrian, interests. From 1916 he had the special responsibility of investigating the attitude of Liberal and Labour Parties in Britain to the establishment of peace.

Meanwhile, Georgina was extremely busy. She had continued her Red Cross inquiry work in London, helping to meet the ever growing demand for

[41] His first publication of inscriptions from Sardis, with D. M. Robinson, appeared in 1913.

information about the wounded and missing. An unexpected insight into her work is provided by Christopher Isherwood's study of his parents, *Kathleen and Frank*.[42] Frank Isherwood disappeared in action near Ypres on 7 or 8 May 1915. In her diary for 17 May the desperate Mrs Isherwood mentions having found another Red Cross inquiry bureau, in Arlington Street, and on 1 June she is making 'a visit again to Mrs Buckler'. A week later 'Mrs Buckler promised to get her husband to enquire of the American Ambassador in Berlin, making a personal matter of it.' By mid-June Mrs Buckler had obtained three different reports of the events, on whose reliability she commented carefully; on 24 June they received confirmation of Frank Isherwood's death. On 28 June Katherine Isherwood recorded: 'Mrs Buckler too wrote so kindly: "It makes my heart ache in a way you may think absurd, even intrusive in a stranger"'. Georgina's work with the inquiry department continued until 1920, and she was awarded the CBE in 1918.

But these practical responsibilities did not exhaust her energies; the same period saw her first return to academic activity. In 1916 she was awarded the Gibson Prize of the University of Cambridge for an essay entitled *National Sentiment and Patriotism in the New Testament*.[43] It was a topical and contentious subject, and the essay opened quite aggressively:

> Probably never since the world began have National Sentiment and Patriotism loomed so large on the mental horizon as at present, when no less than fourteen nations are at war. And probably never has there been a less unqualified acceptance of them, as adequate springs of action... It ought surely therefore to be helpful as well as interesting to go back to the sources of the Christian religion which twelve out of the fourteen belligerent nations profess, and see what the New Testament preaches as to National Sentiment and Patriotism.

There follows a scholarly analysis, first of contemporary attitudes to patriotism among Jews and Gentiles,[44] and then of the attitudes of Christ[45] and the Apostles.[46] According to her analysis, the Jews had developed an increasing strain of nationalistic intolerance, in contrast with the relaxed attitudes of Greeks and Romans; but this nationalism was specifically rejected by Christ.

> Whether Patriotism is itself good or bad, its advocates are bound to admit that it is never expressly inculcated by Christ; nay more, as far as its contemporary form went, is constantly discouraged.[47]

Her conclusion is that

> In as far as [the New Testament's] writers and actors are Christian, so far are they international rather than national, cosmopolitan rather than patriotic... To the

[42] London, 1971, 330–5.

[43] Published by Deighton Bell & Co., Cambridge, in 1917.

[44] *National Sentiment*, 3–20.

[45] *National Sentiment*, 20–30.

[46] *National Sentiment*, 30–42.

[47] *National Sentiment*, 22.

> ordinary reader of the New Testament one fact surely must be perfectly clear – that patriotism is not in itself a Christian virtue.We are to love all men and obey our rulers, but to distinctive national sentiment there is no appeal. On the contrary, the aim of Christ and His followers would seem to have been the abolishing of national differences, the dissipation of racial prejudices and antagonisms, the breaking down of those middle walls of partition which we, with our flags and our national anthems and our customs-duties and our so-called patriotism have toiled so successfully to rebuild.[48]

In writing this essay Georgina drew on many other writers, but she was prepared to disagree on this issue specifically with authorities as weighty as William Temple, Westcott and James Martineau.[49] After over twenty years of living in countries other than her own she was perhaps particularly sympathetic to the 'cosmopolitan' attitude which she detected in the Apostles; but after two years of war it must have taken some courage to express such sentiments. The work, it seems to me, is entirely typical of her background and tradition. Here again we see the serious-minded application of scholarship to Christian texts, in the confident belief that this can be of benefit to modern Christians; it is the same spirit in which her father had explored the lands of the Bible, 60 years earlier. It also echoes the liberal Christianity of Thomas Arnold, as well as the world-view of those Wilsonian circles in the American Administration with which her husband was associated.

Although the Bucklers were, at least at first, the citizens of a neutral country, they were profoundly involved in the war and deeply aware of the tragedies which it was producing. William became increasingly involved with Woodrow Wilson's attempts to bring about a peace. After the war, he assisted the American delegation at Versailles, and as a result of his familiarity with left-wing parties, was even sent on a secret mission to try to establish contact with the new Russian regime, meeting Litvinoff in Sweden. In December 1919 the United States delegation left Paris, having failed either to sign the Treaty of Versailles or to join the League of Nations; and William Buckler resigned from the American Foreign Service. He was very disappointed by this outcome, and from then on found more sympathetic views in Europe; in 1922 the Bucklers moved to Oxford, which was to be their home for the remaining 30 years of their lives. William now returned to his archaeological interests; but he continued to take an interest in international affairs, and to remain true to the Wilsonian ideals of liberal internationalism which had been so rudely rebuffed in the United States. On visits to Baltimore in the 1920s he was involved in encouraging American support for a new non-partisan movement in support of the League of Nations; in 1923 both the Bucklers lectured in Baltimore on this issue.

There was more fellow-feeling perhaps to be found in Oxford, where Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek, had become Chairman of the League of

[48] *National Sentiment*, 43.

[49] *National Sentiment*, 42.

Nations Union and a delegate to Geneva, where he served on the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation. Gilbert Murray's activities provoked a letter from the vice-chancellor questioning whether these activities were compatible with his continuing to hold the Chair of Greek;[50] but Murray saw no inconsistency between his academic and his internationalist work: 'There has never been a day, I suppose, when I have failed to give thought both to the work for peace and for Hellenism.'[51] The attitude of mind recalls that strong sense of the unity of things ascribed to Thomas Arnold by Theodore Walrond: 'Every art was of importance, as affecting the great struggle everywhere and at all times going on between good and evil.'[52] This was the tradition which nourished both the Bucklers; and Murray's Oxford was precisely the right place for each of them to develop their wide range of interests. In the 1920s, William became increasingly involved with the development of a project of international scholarship. Largely at his instigation, 'The American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor' was set up in 1922, and sponsored a series of survey trips by scholars of several nationalities, with the laudable aim of 'recording the monuments above ground before seeking those that lie safe below the surface'; the results of those surveys were published as *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*.[53] He became an associate of All Souls and of Balliol and, in 1937, of the British Academy.

His work in Asia Minor had soon brought him into touch with the greatest living British authority on Asia Minor, Sir William Ramsay. William Mitchell Ramsay had been born in 1851, and had studied classics at Aberdeen and at Oxford. Since 1881 he had been travelling regularly in Asia Minor; since 1911 he had been Regius Professor of Humanity at Aberdeen. His work is the foundation of a great deal of our present understanding of the classical geography of Asia Minor. He was also well known outside academic circles, for reasons which now make much of his writing seem very dated. Ramsay was continuing the tradition set by Stanley, in *Sinai and Palestine*, in that he was particularly interested in the historical geography of the Bible – in his case, that of the New Testament, and particularly the Acts of the Apostles. Like Stanley, he believed in the application of current historical method to the evidence of the Bible. His approach to historical geography also echoes that of Stanley; thus an article of his opens:

> If geography be regarded as the study of the influence which the physical features and situation of a country exert on the people who live in it, then in no country can geography be studied better than in Asia Minor.[54]

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[50] See the memoir of him by Arnold Toynbee, 'The Unity of Gilbert Murray's Life and Work', in *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography, with Contributions by his Friends* (London 1960), 212–20.

[51] From a broadcast in 1956, quoted by Toynbee, *Gilbert Murray*, 212.

[52] 'Thomas Arnold', *DNB*.

[53] The ninth volume of this series, based on work done in 1925–6 in northern Phrygia by Christopher Cox and others and prepared by Barbara Levick and Stephen Mitchell, was published as *Journal of Roman Studies* Monograph 4 in 1988, and the tenth will be published in 1993.

[54] 'Asia Minor: The Country and its Religion', *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion* (London, 1908), 105.

He was inclined to invoke the *genius loci* to explain religious developments precisely as Stanley had done – pointing out, for example, the relationship of the successive cults of Artemis and of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus.[55]

It was for his work relating to the New Testament that Ramsay was widely known to a lay public; but he also worked steadily and carefully to record a wide range of material during his many years of travel in Asia Minor.[56] He worked on the later history of the Christian Church in Asia Minor; and all his work on topography confronted him with the physical remains of Byzantine civilization, and also required the constant use of Byzantine sources. Like Stanley, he became increasingly acquainted with the Orthodox Church; he comments interestingly on the fact that when he first started to travel in Asia Minor (in the late 1870s) there were many orthodox communities which did not speak or understand Greek, but that by the early 1900s these had all become Greek-speaking:

> That old Roman Empire is not dead, but sleeping. It will die only when Hellenism ceases in the Aegean lands, and when the church is no longer a living force among their population. We see then what a power among men this Orthodox Church has been and still is... The historian must regard with interest this marvellous phenomenon, and he must try to understand it as it appears in the centuries.[57]

His observations on the Orthodox Church in Byzantine times are delivered with the same vigour as were Stanley's. In a study of the town of Barata, in Lycaonia, he wrote of the period of revival, between 850 and 1070: 'The late churches produce the general impression of a degenerating people, a dying civilisation, an epoch of ignorance, and an Empire going to ruin.' On the period after the battle of Manzikert in 1071, he was even more severe:

> The people were dominated by ecclesiastical interests... Patriotism could not survive in such an atmosphere; and there is no reason to think that the Imperial government either tried or deserved to rouse a national and loyal spirit, for it was becoming steadily more oriental, more despotic and more rigid. But the major part of the blame for the national decay must be laid on the Orthodox Church. The nation had been delivered over to its care. It had long been supreme and its authority unquestioned. The result was that art and learning and education were dead, and the monasteries were left. The Orthodox Church had allied itself with autocracy against the people, and with the superstitious mob against the heretics and the thinkers. Its triumph meant the ruin of the nation and the degradation of higher morality and intellect and Christianity and art. In our excavations, never deep, we never found any article worth picking up off the ground.[58]

Those words are from a lecture delivered in 1908 at the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Berlin. But his interest in this area of study continued,

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[55] *Luke the Physician*, 133ff.

[56] *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* was published in 1890.

[57] 'The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire', *Luke the Physician*, 148–9.

[58] *Luke the Physician*, 162–3.

and deepened, and in 1924 Ramsay attended, and spoke at, the first International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Bucharest. He was appointed by that congress to a committee to supervise the foundation of an international journal of Byzantine studies, and in the same year the first volume of *Byzantion* was published.[59]

William Buckler's new project to record inscriptions was entirely in accordance with Ramsay's own undertakings, and Sir William became a friend of both the Bucklers. William Buckler's experience had been similar: he published several Byzantine inscriptions either found in his travels, or seen in the hands of dealers.[60] For several years Georgina had been thinking of resuming her own academic activities – doubtless encouraged by her success with the Gibson Prize essay. William Ramsay was instrumental both in encouraging her to do so, and in her choice of subject, and in 1920 she started working on a translation of Anna Comnena. On 1 December 1923 the Bucklers were among the organizers of a party for William Ramsay, held at Christ Church Oxford, to celebrate both his seventieth birthday, and the volume written in his honour, *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* – a volume many of whose articles are still authoritative. Among the guests, significantly, was Professor Henri Grégoire, the Belgian Byzantinist, who had inherited from Cumont the task of preparing a corpus of the *Christian Inscriptions of Asia Minor*; the first (and, as it turned out, the only) fascicule of that corpus had been published in 1922, and had demonstrated how the recognition of Byzantine inscriptions as such, and their interpretation on their own terms, could turn texts which had made no sense to their earlier copyists into lucid historical documents.[61] Grégoire was also the editor of *Byzantion*.

Less than a week later, on 5 December 1923, Georgina Buckler received a letter confirming that she could be admitted to St Hugh's College to study for a BLitt. She was just 55. In January 1924 she took her Cambridge BA and MA (since degrees had not been awarded to women at the time of her original graduation) and was formally admitted to St Hugh's College; the subject of her BLitt (later converted to a DPhil) was to be 'The Intellectual and Moral Standards of Anna Comnena'. Her supervisor was R.M. Dawkins; she described a visit from him:

> He was full of admiration for my industry, and thought the parts I read him 'very interesting', but he wasn't particularly helpful, as he became absorbed in the folder on Style which I haven't written up yet, and hardly meant to.[62]

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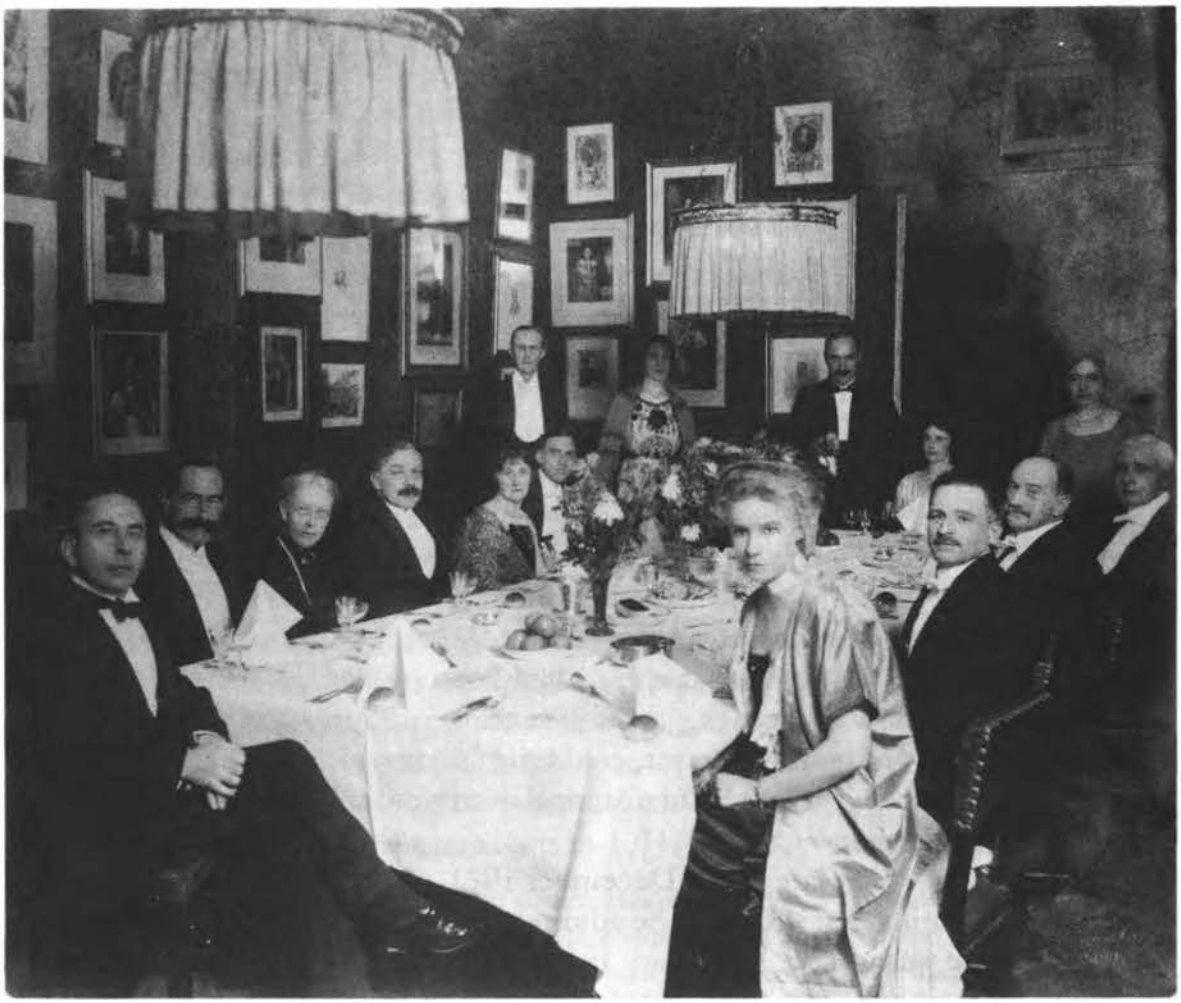
[59] See *Byz* 1 (1924) vi and 736; cf. also the memoir of Ramsay by H. Grégoire, *Byz* 6 (1937), v–xii.

[60] 'The Monument of a Palaiologina', *Mélanges Schlumberger* (Paris, 1924), 521–6; 'Deux inscriptions de Constantinople', *Byz* 3 (1927); 'A memento of Stauropolis', *BZ* 28 (1928), 98–101; 'Un discours de consulaire sous Justinien', *Byz* 6 (1931), 365–70.

[61] H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1922).

[62] Letter to WHB, 1928.



Dinner in honour of Sir William Ramsay, Senior Combination Room, Christ Church, Oxford, 1 December 1923.

From left to right: *Back row*; W.H. Buckler, Miss Ramsay, Professor William Calder, Mrs Robinson, Mrs Gall (sister to Mr Anderson); *To left of table*; Professor Fraser, Mr J.G.C. Anderson, Lady Ramsay, Mr H.R. Hall, Mrs Hogarth, Mr E.S.G. Robinson; *To right of table*; Georgina Buckler, Professor Henri Grégoire, Mr Hogarth, Sir William Ramsay.

It is not clear that he was the best supervisor for a thesis with this particular focus; but it is also questionable how easy he would have found it to direct his pupil.

Against the background that has been described, it is perhaps easier to understand the book which resulted; for the thesis, completed in 1927, was published in 1929 by Oxford University Press.[63] First and foremost, of course, comes the choice of Anna herself – a natural choice of subject for one nurtured in the traditions of women's education. Shortly before Georgina's thesis was published attention had been drawn to Anna by Naomi Mitchison, who included a portrayal of her in a series entitled 'Representative Women.'[64] A translation of the *Alexiad* was in hand, by another woman scholar, Dr Elizabeth Dawes, and was published in 1928. Georgina also revealed her interest in the status of Byzantine women in a later article on the subject.[65] Anna must have been particularly attractive as a woman who asserted herself in precisely the way available to women of Georgina's generation – by scholarship.

But the background also explains aspects of the book which present us with greater difficulties. It stands out as being a serious study of a Byzantine author – not patronizing that author for being the victim of time and place, but engaging directly with the text. It can be argued that it is the lack of directly engaged studies of this kind which has helped to make Byzantine literature so particularly inaccessible. And yet, in reading the book the modern reader is likely to be startled by the questions which Georgina chose to ask. It is essential to bear in mind the title of the thesis from which it was developed. Georgina was specifically concerned with 'the intellectual and moral standards' of the author. In a way that separates her immediately from those of us who write only a few decades later, she wrote within a firmly defined moral framework which makes the assessment of 'intellectual and moral standards' a straightforward matter.

The opening section gives a factual framework, and the second half of the book is arranged under headings which still seem standard: 'Anna and Education', 'Anna as Historian', 'Anna as Writer' (Sections IV–VI). But she devotes an interesting second section to 'Anna as a Personality.'[66] After discussing various historical points, she devotes a subsection to 'Her Selfpity.'[67] In doing so she perceptively isolates an aspect of Anna's writing which grates on a modern reader; but she does not look either for explanations in terms of modern psychology or, as perhaps one might expect, in terms of literary precedent. Part of the analysis which she offers is entirely in the old tradition of determining national character: 'First there is the factor of self-pity founded

[63] *Anna Comnena: A Study* (Oxford, 1929).

[64] *Anna Comnena* (London, 1928).

[65] 'Women in Byzantine Law about 1100 A. D.', *Byz* 11 (1936), 391–416.

[66] *Anna Comnena*, 27–61.

[67] *Anna Comnena*, 35–46.

on that vanity which has always figured in the Greek character and is indeed not unknown in other nations.'[68] This old tradition of writing, which has already been exemplified above, was not yet dead; when William Miller reviewed *Anna Comnena* he too was on the look-out for reflections of national character:

> It is not in language alone that [Anna's] history sometimes reads like a scene from recent Greek life. Thus the reviewer met in 1914 during the insurrection in Northern Epeiros a Greek bishop with prayer-book in his pocket and rifle in his hand, who recalled the fighting prelates of the crusades, and King Constantine's personal care for his soldiers resembled that of Alexios.[69]

A particularly remarkable point about that observation is that Miller has precisely missed the point that Georgina was making when she pointed out that the Byzantine clergy did *not* fight, in striking contrast with the crusader priests.[70]

But the overall tone of the discussion is of someone trying to find out what another individual was like, as a person; it is constantly set out in terms of the reactions of the author and her readers, and their moral judgements:

> We can sympathize with her over the loss of parents and husband, but not with the exaggerated frenzy into which it throws her; we can pity her for her life in enforced retirement, but when between the lines we read her implacable hatred, we feel that in John's place we should have insisted on the same.[71]

Similar references to the probable response of modern readers are scattered throughout the book :

> If we laugh at Anna for conceit and pretentiousness is it not fair to ask ourselves: 'Where except in the famous house of Valois can we find her like?'[72]

The particular direction of Georgina's study is most strikingly reflected in the organization of the third section. After 'Anna as a Personality', we have 'Anna as a Character',[73] although the significance of the distinction is not spelled out. The most astonishing thing about this section, and one which makes it very difficult to use, is that it is subdivided under 'The Three Theological Virtues' – Faith, Hope and Charity –and 'The Four Cardinal Virtues' – Temperance, Fortitude, Wisdom and Justice. Even contemporary reviewers were somewhat startled at this arrangement: 'This rather fantastic device fails equally to explain the mediaeval, and to enlighten the modern, mind.'[74] But it illustrates

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[68] *Anna Comnena*, 35.
[69] *English Historical Review* (June 1930), 295.
[70] *Anna Comnena*, 100ff.
[71] *Anna Comnena*, 45.
[72] *Anna Comnena*, 51.
[73] *Anna Comnena*, 65–162.
[74] Z.N. Brooke, *The Classical Review* (1930), 44–5, 45.

fascinatingly the extent to which Georgina perceived Anna and herself as belonging essentially to one and the same Christian tradition – as also, again, did her readers; in her presentation of those points on which Anna's standards seem different, the most striking feature is the assumption that measurement is possible:

> When we turn to the four Cardinal Virtues ordinarily so called we are at once struck with important differences between Anna's standard and ours. Our views on Temperance may be identical with hers, but her Wisdom seems to us mostly Cunning, and of Justice in the broader sense she knows nothing; while her profound conviction that Discretion is the better part of Valour makes her Fortitude appear to us a sadly emasculated thing.[75]

It seems to me clear that Georgina presented these matters in this way because, in fact, that was what she considered important. With all the 'high seriousness' of her nineteenth-century background, she considered that even after eight centuries an author could and should be assessed on her moral standards. It is an approach from which we are almost completely cut off – if only because we do not, in most areas, accept a shared standard for such judgements. As a consequence, we ask different kinds of questions of our historical sources. But her approach, supported as it was by careful and informed reading of the *Alexiad* itself, and of contemporary literature, does produce some helpful insights; and her summary of 'Anna as a Personality' is worth pondering:

> Anna Comnena spent her youth and middle age in the most sumptuous court in Christendom, where men were striving to maintain classical ideals in the face of barbarians on the East and barbarians on the West. Born in the purple, she associated with her immediate family and the 'kinsmen', and probably with no one else except an occasional learned man. The wonder is, not that she set so much store by outward advantages, but that she does not set more, indeed that she is not more proud, more conceited, more narrow, more arrogant, than we actually find her to be.[76]

That observation is not unhelpful to a serious reader who wants to tackle the *Alexiad*.

When *Anna Comnena* was published Georgina was already 60. The book received a wildly enthusiastic review from Grégoire, punctuated with characteristic observations: it was the fact that she was a woman which gave her such a particular insight into Anna's character, while the meticulous and scholarly method he attributed to the influence of her husband![77] Dölger wrote a far more sober review in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, commenting on the energy of the book, but observing that its great length was in part due to a basic unfamil-

[75] *Anna Comnena*, 130.

[76] *Anna Comnena*, 61.

[77] *Byz* 4 (1929), 684–92.

iarity with Byzantine civilization before or after Anna, which led her to comment on what did not require comment.[78]

Georgina wrote several articles and reviews, particularly for the new periodical *Byzantion*;[79] and she and William continued to be actively involved in Byzantine undertakings. Volume XII of *Byzantion* was dedicated to them in 1937, very probably because they had given financial assistance. In 1931 the two Bucklers, their son-in-law (a practising architect) and Harold Buxton, the Bishop of Gibraltar, went on an expedition to investigate the Byzantine antiquities of Cyprus, and in 1933 they published the first account in English of the important twelfth-century church at Asinou.[80] Meanwhile Georgina was looking for a new research topic. She first thought of writing something on the Byzantines' knowledge of the Bible, something which she would have done very well.[81] But her consideration of Anna's ideas, and their possible sources, had led her to use the so-called *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos, written in the third quarter of the eleventh century, and first published in 1896; she now decided to edit the work. She reported with some glee the observation of a foreign colleague, to whom she announced this intention: 'Kekaumène ? C'est dur; ce n'est pas un travail de femme.' She published a couple of articles on Kekaumenos before and during the war,[82] and completed an edition and commentary. Her handicap now was not that she was a woman, but that she was growing old. *Anna Comnena* is a work of astonishing energy. But when, with the help of Professor Joan Hussey, I finally got hold of Georgina's *Kekaumenos*, it was a far less exciting work. She and William spent the Second World War in the USA, as did their old friend Grégoire; volumes XV to XVII of *Byzantion* were published there. When they returned to Europe after the war, she sent *Kekaumenos* to Grégoire to publish. It even reached first proofs, and was announced as imminent in 1952; but in March 1952 William Buckler died, and Georgina died a year later, in April 1953. Thereafter no more work seems to have been done on the publication of her Kekaumenos. This may reflect Grégoire's own age; but more probably he saw that, as it stood, it would not meet the standards of modern scholarship – not because of any faults or inaccuracies, but because of the questions which it failed to ask.[83]

[78] *BZ* 29 (1929/30), 297–304.

[79] 'A Sixth Century Botaniates', *Byz* 6 (1931), 405–10, and the article cited at n.65.

[80] *Archeologia* 83 (1933), 327–50; cf. also W.H. Buckler, 'The Frescoes at Galata, Cyprus', *JHSt* 53 (1933), 105–10.

[81] 'But then I resolved to get myself a hall-mark as a biblical critic of the Scripture lessons in our Girls' Public Day School Trust Schools by reading for the Archbishop's Diploma in Theology. However it has turned into apples of Sodom, for though I loved reviving my 20-year-old Hebrew for my special subject, I disliked the "Christian Doctrine" so cruelly, and found it so utterly futile, that (as it is obligatory) I dropped the whole scheme' (Notebook, dated May 1930).

[82] 'The Authorship of the Strategicon of Cecaumenos', *BZ* 36 (1936), 7–26; 'Can Cecaumenos be the Author of the Strategikon?' *Byz* 13, (1938) 139–41; 'Writings Familiar to Cecaumenos', *Byz* 15 (1940–1), 133–43.

[83] A suspicion of my own, confirmed by Sir Steven Runciman.

She was not so much handicapped by being a woman, as by age; yet one was in a sense the consequence of the other. When Georgina Walrond left Girton, there were two routes open to her. There was a fairly narrow range of careers which she might have followed – presumably in teaching or scholarly activity of some sort – or marriage. She got married; and there followed sixteen years dominated by what she referred to as her ill health – miscarriages, and the birth of premature babies who died at birth. And there was another complicating factor. It is clear from her private diary that in her private opinion, all academic studies were in fact a second-best; what she longed for was opportunities for 'altruism', for 'Good Works'. 'To me, Usefulness means helping someone'.[84] She wrote to her husband: 'For me to use my brains, a good deal of money, and all my nervous energy on a twelfth-century Greek author is just as wicked as it would be to spend it on playing bridge, when there are miners' families starving'. She took up her academic studies, eventually, largely to support and complement her husband's activities as a scholar; but she pined for a form of practical activity which she would have had difficulty in pursuing in any case in her generation, but which was particularly difficult for a married woman, and one living largely out of her own country. Again, this attitude surely reflects precisely her strenuously Christian upbringing; one is reminded of her father's departure from Oxford to join the new Civil Service Commission. He, in his generation, and Gilbert Murray and William Buckler in theirs, were able to move between the practical and the scholarly life; Georgina, as a woman, was never able to apply her full energies to the practical life, and would remain constantly unsatisfied, wondering what she might have done, how she could have fulfilled her headmistress's prophecy that she was to be 'one of the leading women of the future'. This very uncertainty as to what her true calling was must have been one of the influences that delayed her decision to commit herself to academic activities, where she probably had the best hope of fulfilment; it is quite characteristic of that long period – perhaps not yet quite closed – during which women's education trained many women to use powers which they were not then permitted to exercise.

In that way, therefore, Georgina Buckler is representative of the educated women of her generation. But her preoccupations also reflect other intellectual currents of the times. She was brought up in the Arnoldian tradition of the well-rounded person – the idea that the well-educated should excel in a broad range of activities. The tone of such an upbringing has been most lucidly brought out by David Newsome, in his study of Victorian education.[85] The classical education was broadening in many ways. Travel to the ancient lands was becoming increasingly possible, and one result was a confrontation with the post-classical civilizations of those lands – as exemplified by Sir William Ramsay. His letter of congratulation to Georgina on *Anna Comnena* is wonderfully

[84] Notebook, May 1930.

[85] D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* (London, 1961), Chapter 1.

characteristic, being full of questions about the topographical origins of Byzantine surnames.[86] At the same time, Gilbert Murray, the passionate Hellenist, presents an example of the multi-faceted life – scholarship as compatible with practical activity. His letter of congratulations is equally characteristic:

> What a mass of learning the book contains, and how full it is of interesting details both psychological and historical ! I knew you were engaged in some great work, but I did not realize that it was as important as this.

Then, in the following paragraph, he goes on to discuss the recent election.[87]

Already in Georgina's generation the route of classical studies had divided along many paths; and this is perhaps one way of understanding how she, and other, younger scholars, who might in the past automatically have studied classical topics, came to apply themselves to a later period. But the other crucial influence is that of Christianity. The first Greek text which Georgina read was the New Testament; old Mrs Buckler had taught herself Greek in order to read the Bible with young William. I have tried to set out above how interest in Orthodox Christianity, and in the civilization from which it sprang, had been increasing. It seems clear that to Georgina one of the most interesting aspects of Byzantine civilization was that it was a Christian civilization, and I think that we can regret that she did not continue with her idea of studying how the Byzantines used the Bible. This was an interest not, as nowadays, in Byzantine spirituality, but in Byzantium as a functioning Christian state, and in the Christian practice of 'ordinary' secular individuals, which could be tested – as in the case of Anna – against an accepted standard of virtues. This seems deeply alien to us, such a short time later; but, whatever the shortcomings of the approach, it led Georgina Buckler to take a Byzantine author seriously. That may not sound much, but, on reflection, it is quite an achievement.

[86] Letter of 1 June 1929: 'To make the ancient map of Asia Minor has always been my aim; epigraphy is a mere *parergon* to topography'.

[87] Letter of 10 June 1929.

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